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Spiegel Memorial Volume

Papers on Iranian Subjects
by various Scholars.

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Edr. Modi – Dr. Jivanji J.

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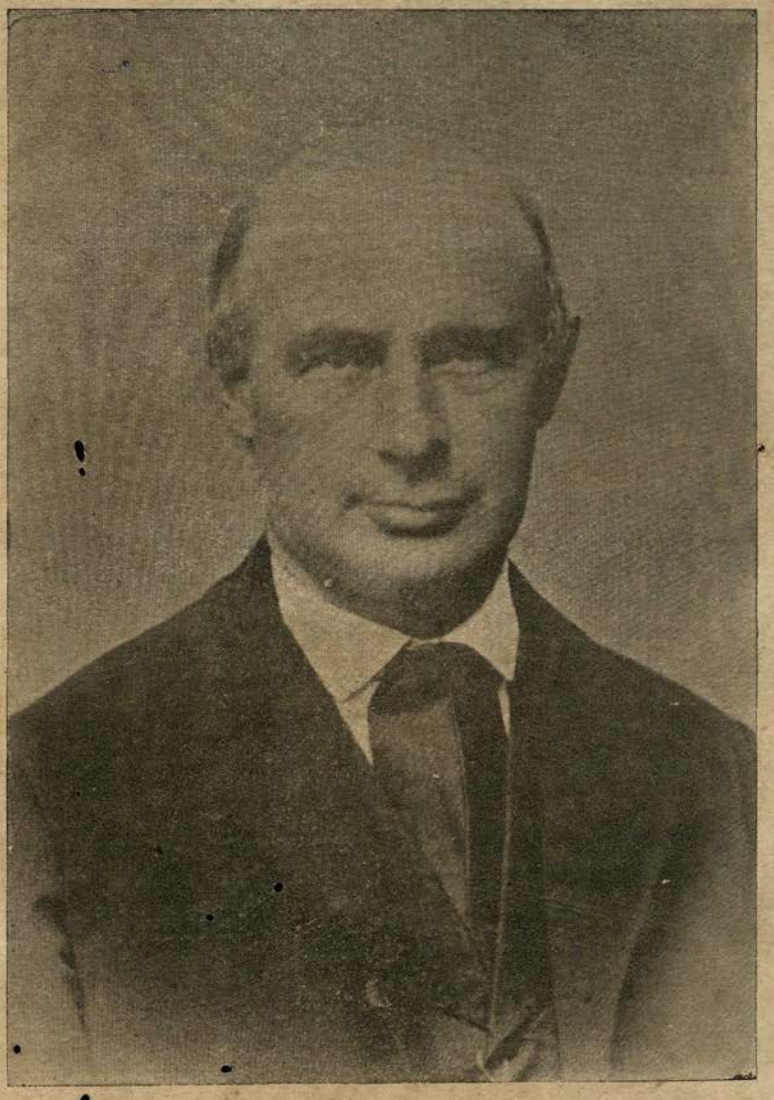


THE LATE DR. FREDERIC SPIEGEL.

As to SPIEGEL'S university years and the course of his studies, I am short of information. After leaving school he went, in 1839, to the University of Erlangen, where he was one of the last pupils of the celebrated poet Friedrich RÜCKERT. Under his direction he studied Sanskrit, Arabic and principally Neo-Persian, a language for which he had a great predilection to the last. As long as he was still able to hold a book in his hands he used to read every day his favorite poet FIRDAUSI. A lively correspondence was carried on between him and Rückert until the death of the latter; that showed the master's interest for his former pupil's scientific performances. From Erlangen SPIEGEL went to Leipsick and afterwards to Bonn to hear the lectures of Ch. LASSEN and Joh. GILDEMEISTER. Here he made the acquaintance of Otto BOCHTLINGK, with whom he afterwards occasionally met at Jena. Under Lassen's influence he began his scientific career with researches into Pâli, the holy language of the Southern Buddhistic church. In his essay "*Kammavâkyam* Liber de officiis sacerdotum Buddhicorum" he edited, as E. KUHN writes (Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Society 1906, III fasc., page 366), from a copy prepared by Lassen at Paris a part of the "*Kammavâcâ*,' called formulary of ordination of the Southern Church. Thereupon he was created a doctor by the philosophical faculty of the University of Jena, November 8, 1842.

In the same year he left Germany and went first to Copenhagen to study the Zend and Pahlavi Mss. of the Royal Library. Then he went to Paris, London and Oxford likewise for the purpose of studying and copying the manuscripts there. He remained there till 1847. Having thus greatly increased his knowledge and learning he returned to Germany and lived a year at Munich, where he intended to become a lecturer in the university. Here he was greatly helped and encouraged in his studies by the Orientalists Joseph MÜLLER and Friedrich WINDISCHMANN. He approached them, as he says in the preface to his *Zoroastrische Studien* (1863), because they had the same subjects for their studies. With them he had frequent verbal and epistolary intercourse. After his recovery from a severe attack of typhus he responded, in 1849, to a call to settle at the University of Erlangen as an extraordinary professor and in 1858 he was nominated professor *in ordinary*. He did not deliver a speech of introduction, and consequently never became a mem-

ber of the academical senate. To hold one of the various offices was obligatory for a member of a faculty, but that was not according to his liking. He needed time and tranquillity for his scientific researches. In public affairs he took scarcely any part, and disliked the quarrels and struggles inseparable from such matters. All the time at his disposal he gave to his work and to his family.

During the forty years of his professorship at Erlangen, where he was the only Orientalist in the University for nearly the whole time, he delivered lectures on Indo-European as well as on Semitic languages. I give the list of his lectures in an appendix. Many theologians desirous to make deeper studies attended his lectures on the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic languages and writers and duly appreciated them. Of his immediate pupils who became Iranists afterwards or published Iranica I name, in the first place, Wilhelm GEIGER, now professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology at Erlangen, G. AUTENRIETH, KEIPER, now professor at Zweibruecken, and Christian BARTHOLOMAE in the university of Giessen. The learned Parsee, Mr. Kharshedji Rustomji CAMA, now advanced in age, to whom various Asiatic, European and American scholars have dedicated a Memorial Volume, edited by Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji MODI, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birthday in 1900, was also his pupil.

After travelling in the principal cities of Great Britain, France, Switzerland and Germany and after studying at Paris, under Jules MOHL and Jules OPPERT, Persian and other cognate languages, Mr. Cama had come in 1859 to Erlangen to study Zend and Pahlavi under SPIEGEL. He still remembers, as he wrote to me recently, the time when he discussed at Erlangen Avestic matters with SPIEGEL.

Friendly intercourse with a circle of young colleagues animated by the same ardour for science like himself was an agreeable diversion to SPIEGEL during his bachelorhood. The vacations gave opportunities for little travels of long pedestrian tours, and SPIEGEL proved on such occasions to be a remarkably good walker. He was especially a great admirer of Switzerland, where he went repeatedly rejoicing at the view of the snowy mountains and green meadows, but not despising at the same time the good fare, in which respect Switzerland excelled, fifty years ago, the summer holiday places in the Bavarian mountains.

In 1859 he married Miss Lina SCHMIDTMÜLLER, who was born at Samarang on the isle of Java, where her father, though a German by birth, had been a surgeon in the Dutch army. He had lived as a pensioner at Erlangen for the rest of his life. The sociable life in the university circles of this time was simple and cordial, without much ceremony or sumptuousness. The more intimate was the connection between befriended families.

Many renowned scholars, both Germans and foreigners, with whom SPIEGEL had corresponded on scientific matters visited him at Erlangen. Among these were the Sanskritists R. ROTH and Albrecht WEBER, his intimate friend up to the time of his death, William Dwight WHITNEY, A. SCHIEFNER of the Academy of St. Petersburg, and Jules OPPERT, with whom we both had many an hour of interesting conversation when he came during the months of August to Erlangen and afterwards to Munich. In 1880 Dr. L. H. MILLS, now professor of Zend philology at Oxford, stayed for some weeks at Erlangen to consult SPIEGEL upon his intended new edition of the Gâthâs. L. C. CASARTELLI, now Bishop of Salford, in his obituary of SPIEGEL (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1906, pp. 1035-39) gives an expression to his impressions, which were similar to my own, when I paid my first visit to Spiegel and his family. He says: "I well remember paying him a visit at the University of Erlangen in the early eighties, and was impressed with the modest simplicity and kind geniality of the great scholar, and the almost humble surroundings of his unpretending home, which he laughingly contrasted with the lordly splendour he had seen enjoyed by the 'dons' of Oxford in their beautiful colleges. The tenour of his whole life was in keeping with this domestic simplicity and entire absence of all pretence or personal pride."

The Congresses of Orientalists presented to Spiegel various opportunities to renew old acquaintances and to form new ones. In 1868, when the Congress of Philologians and Pedagogues was held at Würzburg, SPIEGEL was elected president of the Oriental Section. It was on this occasion that I made my first acquaintance with him, though I knew him already by his writings. With A. WEBER and Wilhelm PERTSCH he went in 1874 to England to the Congress of Orientalists held at London and Oxford. An excellent photograph in my possession taken at London shows the three scholars together on one and the same picture. In 1887 we went

both together to the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna and were much together with ROTH and Friedrich MÜLLER. The interesting time in the beautiful city, favoured by the finest autumn weather, was well remembered by us both. So likewise he remembered well the few weeks we had in 1889 at Stockholm and Christiania among his old friends as A. WEBER, ROST of London, Chr. Friedr. Aug. DILLMANN, Eberhard SCHRADER, Max MÜLLER. This was the last Congress that Spiegel attended.

On the 11th of July 1890 SPIEGEL celebrated in his family circle his 70th birthday in good health of body and mind and received the congratulation of the philosophical faculty and of the professors of other faculties with whom he was on terms of friendship. Professor WINDISCH of Leipzig sent a congratulatory letter in the name of the German Oriental Society. I myself dedicated to my dear father-in-law a little treatise printed at Bombay on the use of Gomez (ગોમુત્રના ઉપયોગ વિશે પારસી ધરમ પુસ્તકોમાં મળતા ફરમાનો અને બીજી કોમોમાં તેને મળતા રવાજો. મુંબઈ. ૧૮૯૦.)

In the spring of 1891 SPIEGEL retired from his professorship and went to live at Munich, a town he knew and liked from the time of his youth. There he lived rather secluded. The beautiful surroundings which invited trips and journeys far and near had a beneficent influence upon him, but he gradually began to lose his former activities, partly in consequence of a slight apoplectic fit which he had suffered at Erlangen in 1889, and from which he seemed at first to have rapidly recovered. During the first years of his stay at Munich he attended frequently the sessions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, of which he was a member in ordinary. But walking and particularly the ascending of staircases became difficult to him, and when his sense of hearing grew more and more defective, he felt himself obliged to renounce taking any further part in the sessions of the Academy.

On the 8th of November 1892 SPIEGEL celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate. I myself was commissioned by the philosophical faculty of the University of Jena, where he had taken his doctorate in 1842, to deliver to him with the faculty's congratulations the renewed diploma printed on parchment. I also presented him then the diploma of the German Oriental Society nominating him an honorary member. The Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, of which Spiegel was a

corresponding member, sent a congratulatory address drawn out by Albrecht WEBER, eulogising Spiegel's superior scientific merits. An article in the scientific part of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of the day (No. 261) by his former pupil Wilhelm GEIGER, who therein expressed in eloquent and heartfelt words sentiments of veneration and gratitude towards his old master, gave peculiar pleasure to SPIEGEL.

From this time until 1898 SPIEGEL lived in tolerably good health though in quiet seclusion. In 1897, he came for the last time to Jena on the occasion of the confirmation of his grandson and godchild. In August 1898, shortly after his return from a little journey to Mieders in Tirol, he had a second apoplectic fit, more trifling in appearance than the former one of 1889, but being now advanced in years, he suffered a great deal more from the consequences. Nevertheless his strong constitution resisted the illness longer than might have been expected. He still had the pleasure to have his granddaughter in his house for a whole year (1899-1900) and then his grandson Friedrich WILHELM, who having studied at Munich from 1900-1905 (with the exception of two half-years spent at Jena and at Leipzig) German philology, and having passed creditably his examination, was created a doctor at Munich in 1903 upon his dissertatise "The History of the Manuscript Sources of the Epic Poem *Charlemagne*" called by the author "*The Stricker*" (Amberg, 1904). He still lived to see in July 1905 his grandson admitted as a lecturer in the philosophical faculty of the University of Munich upon his now printed treatise "*Deutsche Legenden und Legendare*" (Leipzig, 1907). In November 1905 SPIEGEL suffered a third apoplectic fit, which threw him on a sick-bed. An inflammation of the lungs supervened and ended his laborious and successful career on the 15th of December 1905.

To the northern cemetery of Munich, where his corporal remains lay out upon the bier, there came in the afternoon of the 18th December, besides the nearest relations, several of the members of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences, among them the president of the Academy, Geheimrat Dr. von HEIGEL, and the secretaries of its various departments, *viz.*, Geheimrat Obermedizinalrat Dr. von VOIT and the professors of the University, Dr. FRIEDRICH and Dr. E. KUHN. Dr. Kuhn delivered a short speech in honor of the deceased, recounting his merits as a scholar in Oriental

languages and history and deposed a laurel wreath in the name of the philosophical section of the Academy. The dead body was then transported to the railway station to be brought to Jena for the sake of cremation. A religious ceremony took place at Jena in the afternoon of December 19th in the chapel of the cemetery in the presence of the family of the deceased, of the members of the University, and of others who had known him personally. Diakonus BENNDORF held the funeral oration upon the words of St. John the Baptist (Ev. Joh. iii. 30: 'He must grow, but I must decline') appreciating at the same time the virtues and qualifications of the deceased both as a man and as a scientific scholar. He called him the true model of a German scholar entirely given up to his studies and endowed with modesty and simplicity, now scarcely to be met with any more. Professor Dr. FESTER, then momentarily at the head of the philosophical faculty of Erlangen, deposed a wreath in the name of his faculty and conveyed in a few but heartfelt words its last farewell. Then the cremation took place. The urn with the ashes is deposited in the cemetery of Munich.

During more than forty years SPIEGEL, who belonged to the old generation of Orientalists now very scarce, who were experts in Semitic as well as in Indo-European languages, had discharged the duties of his academical office with the greatest conscientiousness, to which the list of his lectures bears ample evidence. But he was, no doubt, mostly and principally remarkable in his capacity as a scientific author. His books carried his name far beyond Germany and even Europe. Among the Parsees of India, who still adhere to the religion of Zarathustra, SPIEGEL'S name became a popular one. They sincerely regretted his death, and expressed their sympathy to the family of the deceased in several letters doing honor to his memory.

SPIEGEL'S first publications referred to the religion of Buddha. His edition of the "*Kamavâkya*" (1841) and the "*Anecdota Pâlica*" (1845) were in Europe the first text-editions of this category, and together with TOURNOUR'S "*Mahâvanso*" and with BURNOUF-LASSEN'S "*Essai sur le Pâli*" became fundamental for the now flourishing Pâli study. His excellent catalogue (1843-1845) of the Pâli manuscripts of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, collected by ERASMUS RASK, is still the only work of its kind. It was during his

stay at Copenhagen that he made his acquaintance with the Avesta manuscripts, which had likewise been taken thither by RASK. This event and his entering, at the same time, into personal relations with Justus OLSHAUSEN, directed his mind from India to Erân and to that peculiar field of science, the investigation of which may be considered as his life-work: the study of the documents of the Old Persian religion called "the Avesta." OLSHAUSEN gave to him, as did later on Josef MÜLLER, his own copies of the Avesta manuscripts of Paris (done for the purpose of an edition he had intended himself, as it seems from his specimen of the Vendidad, 1829) and thus facilitated the immense labour of copying and comparing the manuscripts of Copenhagen, London, Oxford and Paris, to which SPIEGEL devoted himself for several years with undefatigable zeal. That, at the same time, he did not entirely turn away from Neo-Persian is proved by the publication of his *Chrestomathia Persica*. (ed. in 1846), which was a well-selected and well-arranged reading book of Persian literature, containing extracts from the poets Jâmi, Firdaûsi, Nizâmi, Châgâni, Saadi, with a glossary, and which was dedicated to his masters Heinrich Leberecht FLEISCHER and Friedrich RÜCKERT, and by the publication of his essay "*Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*" (1851), which partly referred to Neo-Persian literature.

In the Avestic studies to which he now principally devoted himself, Spiegel proceeded from the uncontestable proposition that the language of the Avesta ought to be studied carefully, but that likewise the cognate languages, in which the commentaries are written, ought to be consulted for the sake of interpretation. This was a course pursued with good success a long time since, by the interpreters of the Old Testament, who used to consider that the old versions, which were the supporters of tradition and the transmitters of the substance of the Old Testament to the various times and civilisations, were indispensible auxiliaries for researches concerning the original text. A scientific interpreter of the Old Testament having no knowledge of the idiom of the Greek version called *Septuaginta* is not imaginable now.

The first result of these studies of the languages of the Avesta commentaries was the grammar of the PARSÎ language, published in 1851. In this book the middle Iranian idiom, now called *Pâzand*, is represented in a manner which was, as E.

KUHN said, very excellent for the time being. In 1852 appeared the first volume of SPIEGEL'S German translation of the Avesta, a rather bold enterprise. In the next year was published the first volume of the Avesta text, the second volume following five years later. But this edition remained incomplete, because the Danish scholar WESTERGAARD, who had commenced his Avesta studies simultaneously with SPIEGEL, had published in the meantime a complete edition of all the texts. This Avesta edition by WESTERGAARD, who was superior to SPIEGEL in the point of textual criticism, published at Copenhagen (1852-54), was based on still more copious critical materials. It excelled SPIEGEL'S edition as did later on the meritorious edition of GELDNER, but Spiegel's work preserves nevertheless its own intrinsic value by giving not only the original text, but likewise the traditional translation into the idiom of the Sassanides: *Huvzâresh* as SPIEGEL calls it or *Pahlavī*. In 1856 Spiegel published the second, and in 1863 the third and last part of his Avesta translation, still valuable on account of the excellent introduction — chapters of every volume which treat of the culture of the Persian people and of its relations to other Oriental nations. Already in his "*Introduction into the traditional writings of the Parsees*" (1856-60) SPIEGEL had laid the foundation for his whole study of the later Persian literature. The first part was intended to give a survey of the Pahlavī language, as far as practicable in close connexion with his Parsī grammar. Among the resources to which SPIEGEL applied for this purpose were in the first place the Pahlavī translation of the Yendidad and Yasna, *viz.*, the comparing of these translations partly with the original text and partly with the curious Sanscrit translation of the Yasna by NERIOSENGH, edited by SPIEGEL in 1861. NERIOSENGH gives in the whole, although in a barbarian sort of Sanscrit, the same traditional matter as it is contained in the well-known Pahlavī version. His translation is not a new expedient for the knowledge of the original text, but rather an important key for the comprehension of the Pahlavī version. The second volume of the "*Introduction into the traditional writings of the Parsees*" gives a survey and critique of the traditional literature, and completes the first volume by transcriptions of several longer texts and a carefully done glossary.

SPIEGEL'S Avesta translation (the first complete one since ANQUETIL DU PERRON) was rendered into English by A. H. BLEECK under the title "Avesta: The religous

Books of the Parsees, from SPIEGEL's translation, in 3 volumes. Hertford 1864." It was by this English translation especially that SPIEGEL's name became familiar to the Parsees, for it was greatly valued by them. The reason for this appreciation may be that SPIEGEL (and in accordance with him F. JUSTI) adhered strictly to the traditional conception of the Pahlavī version. But, though, learned Parsees welcomed the method of Spiegel, who like EUGENE BURNOUF before him, saw in this Pahlavī version the most important means for understanding the Avesta, he met with violent opposition from European scholars, especially from the Indianists. For a long time, says W. GEIGER (*Allgemeine Zeitung* 1892, No. 311, Beilage No. 261, p. 5), the Iranists were divided into two opposite camps according to their following or not following the opinion of SPIEGEL. Many a hard word came from one side to the other, but, as time went on, the violent opposition abated. Even those who are not at all inclined to overrate tradition will no longer propose to dispense with it entirely. At any rate it is a lasting merit of SPIEGEL to have introduced the study of the highly important middle Iranian literature in Germany by publishing the Pahlavī version of the Avesta and other works in connexion with it. SPIEGEL had the satisfaction to know that not only one of his most vehement adversaries, M. HAUG, returned from a stay in India, where he had himself become acquainted with the tradition pertaining to the Avesta, as a converted Paulus and differed henceforth only from him as to the way of interpreting it, but that various other scholars of renown also had adopted his views on principal points. Many others at least admitted the value of tradition for the later parts of the Avesta (Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Society of Sciences, Berlin, 1902, p. 998). It was also a satisfaction to him that GELDNER, the eminent pupil of ROTH, acknowledged freely in the Prolegomena to his new edition of the Avesta (p. xlviii, 6), that his former view concerning the commentaries of the Parsees had been an erroneous one. "My former undervaluation of the Pahlavī version which I shared with others," he continues, "has given way in the course of my labour to an increasing estimation. I am indebted principally to WEST for my conversion. By his numerous letters, several of which are, in fact, real essays and an inexhaustible source of information, he brought me from my error to the right path as by a magnetic force." With relation to the tradition-question H. HÜBSCHMANN presents an independent, and as GELDNER, with

whom I agree in this respect, says, the only correct standpoint (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II, p. 44).

In order to give a philological foundation and justification to the reading of his text-edition and translations or to improve his former translation by means of newly available resources, SPIEGEL published in 1864 and 1868 his "*Kommentar über das Avesta*" in two volumes. For the first volume the copious critic and exegetic remarks which F. RÜCKERT at Neusess had written down with regard to the first part of the text-edition and translation and sent to him were very useful. They follow the text from one point to another, and SPIEGEL has often derived benefit from them. In some cases RÜCKERT and WESTERGAARD agree together. The second volume of the commentary concludes the text-interpretation. Like the preceding one it stands as a supplement to not only the text-edition, but likewise to the two last volumes of the translation. The interpretation of the Gâthâs occupies, as is proper, the greatest space.

During this whole time SPIEGEL had applied himself entirely and successfully to the study of the Iranian languages. Instigated by the works of NIEBUHR RAWLINSON, NORRIS, HOLTZMANN, OPPERT and WESTERGAARD, he published in 1862 the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, original text, grammar and glossary, "an eminently useful edition on account of the judicious discussion of all the referring questions," as E. KUHN says (p. 357), where the author's own study of the Scythic text is also perceivable. A second and improved edition appeared in 1881. Here the results of the researches upon the Scythic (New Susian) and Assyrian-Babylonion translations concerning the Old Persian text are altogether taken into consideration.

While F. JUSTI added only a short survey of the Avesta grammar to his manual of the Old Bactrian language, SPIEGEL published for those, who wanted to penetrate more deeply into the language, a grammar of "*Old Bactrian*," as he called the idiom of the Avesta, not with transcriptions, but with application of the original Zend alphabet (1867). In the first and only fascicle of his "*Arian Studies*" (1874) he gave contributions to the grammar of the Avesta and Pahlavī and to Iranian religion and philology in general. In his copious work

"Comparative Grammar of the Old-Erânian Languages" (1882), SPIEGEL endeavoured to compare the Old-Erânian dialects with the Indian language, but in the first place between each other and with their middle and New-Erânian derived idioms. To this last part of comparison he gave peculiar attention in the syntax.

During the whole time of his academical career SPIEGEL published numerous articles and essays in the records of the Bavarian Academy and in various other periodicals as: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, KUHN'S Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, BEZZENBERGER'S Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, Le Muséon (edited by C. de HARLEZ), Deutsche Revue (edited by Richard FLEISCHER), where he treated successfully different questions of Iranian philology. He published likewise many reviews of books in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* and *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*. From 1868 to 1892 he wrote the article "Perser" in the annual Records for historical science, at Berlin. Several of his essays in the journal *Ausland*, which excited the interest of greater circles and also of classical philologists as I had occasion to see, have been reprinted in an improved shape, together with several later ones in his "*Erân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*, 1863." All these articles down to 1875 are to be considered as preliminary studies for bringing together the building-stones to the monumental work of his scholarship, the "*Erânische Atterthumskunde*," published in three volumes from 1871 to 1878. In this book, which we may well consider, as W. GEIGER says (p. 6) as the culminating point of SPIEGEL'S performances, he gave a complete and detailed picture of the whole of Iranian life, comprising the geographical conditions, the myths, sagas and folklore, the religious and moral conceptions, the history, policy, state, family life, science and arts. Important were also the relations of the Persians to the Indians. This work, a result of persevering scientific assiduity, stimulated others likewise to studies in all directions. It will, moreover, always remain valuable as a rich source of knowledge.

The question of the relations between the Persians and Indians was resumed by SPIEGEL once more in 1887 in his book "*The Arian period and its conditions.*"

Here he acknowledges that the hypothesis of the Central Asiatic origin of the Indo-Celts has become a very improbable one to us, although we must be aware that we only operate with suppositions in trying to fix their original abode. He does not make any choice therefore among the places suggested by other scholars: the countries in the North of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Caspian Sea, Germany, the Rokitno-marshes, Scandinavia, etc. (Cf. Journ. *Grenzboten*, 1906, p. 331.) The last publication of SPIEGEL was a small article in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1903 "*Über den Zoroastrismus*," in which the veteran sums up the results in the case of India *versus* Iran, and, as a kind of scientific 'last will and testament' reasserts that "the Old Persian religion has nothing to do with India," and that the chief influence came from the West, originally from Babylon.

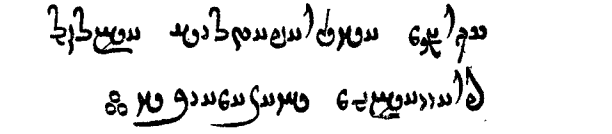
The eminent scholar was not wanting in marks of honour and distinction during his long and laborious life, from learned societies, German and foreign, as well as from his prince. He was a corresponding member of the philosophic-historical class of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences since 1848, an external one since 1859, and a member in ordinary since his retirement in 1891; furthermore a corresponding member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin, of the Institut de France at Paris, of the Imperial Russian Academy of St. Petersburg, and of the American Oriental Society, an honorary member of the German Oriental Society, of the Società Asiatica Italiana at Florence, of the Society for Promoting Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion at Bombay. He was appointed a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and of the Order of Maximilian for art and sciences. Moreover his prince bestowed upon him the Order for civil merit of the Bavarian Crown, with which the personal nobilitation is combined. When he resigned his academical office at Erlangen he was appointed a Secret Councillor of the Royal Bavarian Court.

Notwithstanding all these honors and distinctions SPIEGEL remained simple and unpretending as he always had been. The happiness he enjoyed came from within, from his heart and mind. His kindness and benevolence, which was felt by all those who came near him and showed itself especially in his family circle, to his wife whom he had known already as a very young girl, to his daughter and only

child and to his nearest friends, never stepped into the foreground. He saw every thing from the best side, and this happy optimism, the peculiar harmony of his mind which penetrated his whole being led him through his active life without heavy struggles and helped him in his latest years, when he was almost entirely confined to his room, to bear his share of the pains and troubles of old age.

His life indeed had been one of indefatigable labour as is proved not only by the number of his writings, but also by their substance. Their value consists not in their bringing to light many things but in their bringing so much. SPIEGEL was one of those scholars who entirely mastered their peculiar province of science from the surface to the bottom. "Nor did he neglect its relations to its many neighbouring provinces. Many of the questions he treated are still alive. The reason thereof is not that he was deficient in depth of knowledge or penetration, but that the solution of these questions was later on attempted by other methods." These are words from an article in the *Grenzboten*, 1906, p. 330, entitled "*A German Orientalist.*" If he seemingly came too early to stop at his results, refusing to go further and in consequence exciting the opposition and polemics of his fellow-workers in Iranian matters, the reason was, as he often complained to me, that he was no longer able to see his way through the newly adopted linguistic methods. He was not wanting in good-will or endeavours, but, to make it short, he was not able to learn afresh. He did not deny, that a solid scientific foundation had been laid for the Avesta grammar especially by the publications of HÜBSCHMANN, BARTHOLOMÆ and JOH. SCHMIDT. Many a one thought, perhaps, to have a right to look down upon SPIEGEL's work, but forgot that he stood himself on SPIEGEL's shoulders. SPIEGEL welcomed warmly the translation of C. DE HARLEZ, who was virtually his pupil and to whom he gave credit for peculiar divination into the mysteries of the Avesta in his capacity as a theologian. He admired ungrudgingly the immense materials which JAMES DARMESTETER had brought together for Avesta interpretation, and he followed with the greatest interest the works of the younger generation of scholars down to "*Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*" (1899), by GELDNER's excellent pupil A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, who showed and expressed his esteem for the old master in this as well as in his other writings. The honour of having opened—and

that not without a struggle—the path to Old-Iranian researches in Germany will remain with SPIEGEL, and will make his name ever memorable in the history of science, even if many forget in the progresses of the present time, that there existed no Iranian philology fifty years ago. I will conclude with the same words, with which FERDINAND JUSTI, who has now gone himself to the eternal home, concluded the letter of condolence which he wrote to me after SPIEGEL's death, December 18th, 1905:



DR. EUGENE WILHELM,

JENA, *23rd May 1907.* *Professor of Iranian languages in the University of Jena.*

APPENDICES.

Spiegel's lectures at the University of Erlangen, 1849-1901.

I.

HISTORY OF CIVILISATION OF THE ORIENT.—Winter, 1850-51, 1851-52, 1852-53, 1853-54, 1856-57, 1859-60, 1862-63. Summer, 1865.

II.

SEMITIC LANGUAGES.

1. *Hebraic Grammar*—1849, 1850, 1852, 1853, 1854.

2. *Old Testament.—Books of the Kings*—1850-51, 1868-69. *Books of Judges and Ruth*—1865-66. *Books of Samuel*—1867-68. *Job*—1866-67, 1869-70.

3. *Arabic Grammar*—1852, 1854, 1856, 1857-58, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1864-65, 1865, 1866-67, 1867-68, 1868, 1868-69, 1869, 1869-70, 1870-71, 1871, 1871-72, 1872-73, 1873-74, 1875, 1876, 1877-78, 1878-79, 1879-80, 1880-81, 1881-82, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884, 1885-86, 1886-87, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91.

4. *Arabic Writers*—1852-53. *Qorân*—1854-55, 1855, 1855-56, 1856-57, 1858, 1858-59, 1860, 1860-61, 1864-65, 1869, 1872, 1874, 1876-77, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1890.

5. *Syriac Grammar*—1855-56, 1857, 1858-59, 1859-60, 1860, 1860-61, 1861-62, 1862-63, 1863-64, 1864-65, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1890.

6. *Syriac Writers*—1859, 1862, 1863.

III.

Indo-German Languages.

1. *Sanscrit Grammar*—1850, 1851, 1852, 1852-53, 1853, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1858-59, 1860-61, 1861-62, 1862-63, 1863-64, 1864-65, 1865-66, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1870-71, 1871-72, 1872-73, 1874-75, 1875-76, 1876-77, 1877-78, 1878-79, 1879-80, 1880-81, 1881-82, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91.

2. *Sanscrit Writers: Hitopadesa*—1850-51, 1851, 1851-52, 1852, 1853, 1853-54, 1855-56, 1856-57, 1857-58, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1878, 1879. *Lassen's Anthologia*—1867, 1876, 1878. *Bhagavadgîtâ*—1868-69, 1869, 1869-70, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1875, 1886-87, 1887. *Sakuntalâ*—1873, 1875-76, 1877, 1882-83, 1883, 1883-84, 1884, 1884-85, 1888-89, 1889, 1889-90, 1890. *Meghadûta*—1873-74, 1874. *Urvasî*—1876-77, 1887-88, 1888. *Bhaṭṭikavya*—1874-75. *Delbrück's Vedic Chrestomathia*—1877, 1879-80, 1880, 1880-81, 1881, 1882. XII Hymns of the Rigveda (ed. *Windisch*)—1885, 1886.

3. *Comparative Grammar*—1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854-55, 1855-56, 1857-58, 1858-59, 1860-61, 1861-62, 1863-64, 1866, 1867, 1870-71, 1871-72, 1872-73, 1873-74, 1874-75, 1875-76, 1876-77, 1877-78, 1878-79, 1879-80, 1880-81, 1881-82, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91.

4. *Old Persian Grammar and Interpretation of Cuneiform Inscriptions*—1851-52, 1852-53, 1853-54, 1854-55, 1868-69, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889.

5. *Avesta Grammar and Interpretation of the Avesta*—1856, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1864-65, 1866-67, 1868, 1869-70, 1871, 1872-73, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1886-87, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.

6. *Huzvâresh or Pahlavi Grammar*—1855, 1858, 1865-66, 1867-68. *Interpretation of the Bundahish*—1852, 1855, 1858, 1865-66, 1874.

7. *Neo-Persian Grammar and Writers*—1853, 1854-55, 1856-57, 1865, 1874, 1875-76, 1878-79, 1883, 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91.

8. *Armenian Grammar*—1857-58, 1862.

SPIEGEL'S articles in the Reports of Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences :—

1852—Über einige eingeschobene Stellen des *Vendîdad*. Abhandlungen VI, pp. 1-77.

1852—Der 19. Fargard des *Vendîdad*. Abhandlungen VI, 2, pp. 281-338.

1853—Die *erânische* Stammesverfassung VIII, 3.

1867—Über das Leben *Zarathustras*.—1. Quellen. 2. Der Name *Zarathustra* 3. Zeitalter des *Zarathustra*. 4. Vaterland des *Zarathustra*. 5. Abstammung und Iugendgeschichte *Zarathustras*. 6. Vorbereitung und öffentliches Auftreten *Zarathustras*. 7. *Zarathustras* Aufenthalt in Baktrien. 8. Schlussbemerkungen-Anhang : Die Magier und die *Athravas*. Sitzungsberichte, Vol. I, pp. 1-92.

SPIEGEL's articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* :—

1847—Studien über das Zendavesta. 1. Die Tradition der Parsen. 2. Zur persischen Eschatologie. 3. Die Lehre von der unendlichen Zeit bei den Parsen 1851. 4. Über den Kultus der Gestirne und die Weltansicht der Parsen in den verschiedenen Epochen ihrer Entwickelung, 1852. 5. Redaktion und Abfassung des Zendavesta, 1855.

1849—Die Sage von *Sâm* und das *Sâm-nâme*.

1850—Nachrichten über Taberistân nach dem *Tarîkh-i-Tâberistân* von Ábu-l-Hassan ben Isfendiâr.

1853—Zend und Zendik.

1857—Das erste Kapitel des Bundehesch.

1863—Bemerkungen über einige Stellen des Avesta.

1871—Zur Erklärung des Avesta, I.; 1872, II.; 1873, III

1879—*Âḍar Gushasp*.

1881—Über das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Awestâ, I.

1882—Zur Textkritik des Awestâ.

1884—Zur Geschichte des Awestâkalenders.

1887—Über das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Awestâ, II.

1891—Awestâ und Schâhnâme.

1903—Über den Zoroastrismus.

SPIEGEL's articles in the journal *Das Ausland*:—

1848—Die religiösen Zustände der Gegenwart in Indien.

1855—Die alte Kultur Mesopotamiens: 1. Assyrien. 2. Babylon.

1856—3. Die Kulturzustände nach Alexander dem Grossen.

1856—Die neueren Forschungen über das Avesta und ihr Einfluss.

1858—Dejokes und die Anfänge der medischen Herrschaft.

1858—Die Regierung des Darius nach den Keilinschriften.

1859—Die Parsen in Indien und die europäische Bildung.

1860—Die Kulturhistorische Stellung des alten Erân.—Die Arier und die arische Einwanderung in Indien.

1861—Persis—Parthien.

1862—Veda und Zendavesta.

1863-1866—Die auswärtigen Beziehungen Persiens.

1865—Geschichte der Entzifferung der Keilschrift.

1866—Das persische Königsbuch und seine Bedeutung für Geographie und Geschichte.

1867—Semiten und Indogermanen.

1870—Die Mythologie der Vedas.

1871—Das Urland der Indogermanen.

1872—Zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte.

1872—Zwei ethnographische Fragen: 1. Erân und Tûrân. 2. Erân und die Semiten.

1873—Die Entzifferung der assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften.

1874—Kasten und Stände in der arischen Vorzeit.

1877—*Ktesias* als Geschichtsschreiber: 1. Kenntnisse und Charakter des Ktesias.

2. Die Königlichen Annalen der Perser. 3. Die Darstellung der assyrischen Geschichte. 4. Die Geschichte der medischen Dynastie. 5. Die Geschichte der Perser.

1878—Zur vergleichenden Mythologie.

1880—Das Volk der Meder und seine Geschichte nach den neuesten Forschungen.

1880—Über die Nationalität des Cyrus.

SPIEGEL'S articles in the journal *Deutsche Revue* (ed. R. Fleischer):—

1881—Das Königtum der asiatischen Indogermanen.

1882—Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte.

1885—Psychologische Sprachforschung.

1881—*Ormazd* und *Ahriman.* In the journal *Im neuen Reich.*

1880—*Vîstâspa* oder *Hystaspes* und das Reich von Baktra. *Historische Zeitschrift* (ed. von SYBEL) N. F. Vol. VIII, 1-21.

SPIEGEL'S articles in *Le Muséon*:—

1882—FIRDUSI SHÂNÂMEH, ed. *Vullers.*

Le vocabulaire aryaque.

La déclinaison des noms en *a* dans la langue aryaque.

1885—Le démon *Azi.*

1887—La réforme de Zarathustra.

Introduction.

This volume opens with an interesting article from the pen of Mr. Sorabji Nowroji Kanga. It gives a beautiful explanation of the story of the Gokard tree and the ten Kar fish in Parsee books, and points out that the story symbolizes the dualism prevalent in the universe, the fish representing the constructive or the generative force and the lizard the destructive force.

We find that among the animal creation, the fecundity of the fish is the greatest. The ovarium of some kinds of fish—for example, the salmon—is said to produce 20,000,000 eggs. So, it can very properly be taken as a symbol of generation. Up to the time of Constantine, fish was taken by Christianity as an emblem of holy spirit, peace, and faithfulness. This symbolism was revived in the Middle Ages and is continued up to modern times.

It is on account of its fecundity that fish is considered to be auspicious and a proper article for presentation, especially on marriage occasions, amongst the Parsees. Among the various social functions of a Zoroastrian's life, marriage is the most important. It may be considered as a function which enlists itself on the side of constructive agencies. So the occasion seems to be a fitting one, when fish, which symbolizes the creative force of Nature, may be produced and presented as a symbol of generation and construction.

Mr. Kanga compares the ten Kar fish encircling round the Haoma plant with the serpents circling round the caduceus or the rod of Hermes. The Haoma plant is connected with the name of Haoma, a great man who is believed to have brought to the notice of the ancient Irânians its medicinal virtues. I think that, besides this point suggested by Mr. Kanga, there are several other points common between this Haoma of the Avesta and the Hermes of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians. I give them here:—

"(*a*) Just as there were three different persons of the name of Hermes, so there were three different persons of the name of Haoma. One was Haoma Duraôsha.[1] The second was Haoma Frâshmi.[2] The third was Haoma Khanêrangha.[3]

[1] Yaçna IX, 2, 4, 6, 10, 13.
[2] Yasht IX (Gosh), 17; XVII (Ashi), 37, 38, 39.
[3] Yasht XIII (Farvardin), 116.

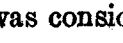
"(*b*) Just as the three Hermes were all latterly known as Hermes Trismegistus, so the Haomas, especially the first two, were known as Haoma Duraôsha, *i.e.*, Haoma the immortal.

"(*c*) Just as Hermes was considered as a type of the supreme Being, so Haoma was considered as a *yazata* or an angel.[1]

"(*d*) Just as Hermes was considered to be the author of many books, so was Haoma.[2]

"(*e*) Just as Hermes was 'the patron deity of learning,'[3] so was Haoma a 'Vaedhâ-paiti,' *i.e.*, 'a master of learning.'[4]

"(*f*) Just as Hermes was 'the founder of religious rites,'[5] so was Haoma.[6]

"(*g*) Their very names, Haoma and Hermes, suggest an identification.[8] The Avesta Haoma  , when written in Pahlavi characters, is written thus . As the second letter in this word has various readings, it can be read as 'r'. So the word can be read as Harma. The last letter 's' of the word Hermes is the letter of which Herodotus[7] says, that it always occurs at the end of Persian names. It is the 's' of the nominative singular form and is found in the Avesta itself in conjunction with a particle, *e.g.*, Haomascha (Vend. XIX, 19), which word, in its Pahlavi form, may be read Harmas(cha) or Hermes(cha). . . . .

"Now what do these legends, the one of Hermes and his wand entwined by the serpents forming a spiral movement, and the other of Haoma and his tree entwined by the fish forming a spiral movement, signify? As Hermes and Haoma both symbolize Learning and Knowledge, the two legends signify that Man must strive for the spiral movement upwards and continue the torch of learning and knowledge."[8]

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1 S. B. E. Vol. V, Bundehesh, VII, 3; XXVII, 24; Zâdspaiam, VI, 3; Shâyast lâ Shâyast XI, 4, 6; S. B. E Vol. XXXVII, Dinkard Daftar IX, chap. XLIII, 6.

2 Yacna X, 18; LVII. (Srosh Yasht), 19.

3 Mackey's History of Freemasonry, Vol. I, p. 51.

4 Yacna IX, 27.

5 Mackey's History of Freemasonry, I, p. 50.

6 Yasht X (Meher), 89.

7 Bk. I, p. 144.

8 *Vide* my paper on "The Legendary and Actual History of Freemasonry" in the K. R. Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume, pp. 172-74.

Mr. Khodabux Edalji Punegar gives us two papers. His first paper on (*a*) the text, (*b*) metre, and (*c*) interpretation of the fifth and sixth strophes of the 46th chapter of the Yaçna, proves the value of carefully collated editions of the texts of Oriental works. It is not casual readers and students but careful students like Mr. Punegar who are in a position to appreciate the merit of texts like that of Prof. Geldner. Such carefully prepared texts place good materials before students for original work and research.

In the third and fourth lines of the 6th strophe, Mr. Punegar finds a very beautiful maxim tantamount to the English proverb "A man is known by the company he keeps." This happy comparison suggests that it would be well if an enthusiastic student like Mr. Punegar were to collect from the Avesta all similar maxims and proverbs.

Mr. Punegar's second paper on the "Interpretation of Yasna XLIV, strophe 6, line 5," is in a similar line. The important part of it is that which determines the meaning of the compound word *râṅyô-skeretîm*, and I think, that, as pointed out by Mr. Punegar, the word has more to do with some kind of 'movement' than with the expression of some idea like that of 'joy' or 'pleasure.'

Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha gives us two papers. His first paper on "The Original Abode of the Kayanians" suggests, that the abode of king Kae Kobâd (Kavi Kavâta of the Avesta) was Mount Alburz and that he and his family were known as Kavi (Persian *kai*), because they came from mountainous regions, the word '*kavi*' being a dialectical contraction of the Avesta word '*kaofa*,' meaning a mountain.

We find, that neither the Avesta nor the Bundehesh gives the name of the father of Kai Kobâd. In the Shâh-nâmeh, Kai Kobâd declares his descent from Faridun, but does not give the name of his father.

زتخم فریدون منم کیکباد ∴ پدر بر پدر نام دارم بیاد

The Bundehesh [1] refers to his romantic birth and infancy, and says that his predecessor Auzab saw him thrown in a river. He lifted him up from there and brought him up. The ignorance about the name of his father, and his romantic childhood suggest, that his family name Kavi or Kai must have originated with him

[1] Chapter XXXI, 24.

and come into use in some unusual way. Mr. Sheriarji suggests this way and says that the family name Kavi or Kai is a dialectic contraction of *kaopha*, a mountain.

I think that the above passage of the Bundehesh suggests another derivation of the word Kavi and Kavâta. There, while describing his romantic childhood, he (Kavâta) is represented as falling unconscious on *kavâdeh* (Pers. کواده the wooden sill of a door), *i.e.*, the threshold of his door. I think, that it is this word (*kavâdeh*) connected with some unusual event in his childhood that has given him his name Kavâta and also the family name Kavi.

Mr. Sheriarji's observation that "people living in highlands were more powerful and valiant than the inhabitants of plains" and the reason which he gives for this observation, *viz.*, "that, on mountains, temptations to luxury and indolence are very few, as nature compels them to lead a simple and active life," remind us of the words of Cyrus to his Iranian people (Herodotus IX, 122).

Mr. Sheriarjee Dadabhoy Bharucha's second paper on the Avestic pronunciation is useful "as a suggestive contribution to the advance of our Avestic studies."

The use of the character 𐬀 as a substitute for the ordinary 𐬌 met with in some copies seems to have come in, in later times, through the Pahlavi in one of the following two ways :—(*a*) It seems to be a form of the Pahlavi 𐭣 *g* written with a little flourish of hand. We know that in Pahlavi 𐭣 'g' is found written in some manuscripts with two dots above it as 𐭤. So, latterly, the two dots written with a little flourish may have formed a part of the letter itself and the letter may then have assumed its form as 𐬀. (*b*) Or the introduction of the letter through Pahlavi may be due to another process. We know that the Avestic 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬵 *aôkhta* is rendered as 𐭪𐭥𐭬𐭮 *gufta* in the Pahlavi. In this word the Avestic 𐬀 'a' may have been taken as an equivalent of Pahlâvi 𐭣 'g.' So it appears possible that latterly the Avesta 𐬀 'a' itself may have been read 𐭤 'g' by some copyists. In this connection we must bear in mind, that, latterly, the Parsee Dasturs had begun to know much of their Avesta scriptures, not independently but dependently, through these Pahlavi renderings only.

Mr. Beveridge's paper on "India's Debt to Persia" is very suggestive. He points out that India is indebted to Persia for the following:—

1. India owes its Mahomedanism to Persian saints.
2. The Persian settlers in Guzerat, the forefathers of the modern Parsees, enriched the arts and sciences of India and even the blood of India.
3. The rule of the Mogul emperors has conferred many benefits upon India. Now it was Persia that helped the Mogul dynasty in various ways in their work of conferring the benefits.

(*a*) For example, had it not been for the assistance, from the Shahs of Persia, the Mogul emperors would have found it difficult to establish their rule in India successfully and beneficently.

(*b*) Even the Persian ladies had their indirect share in giving those benefits to India. The rule of Akbar has enriched India in various ways, and Akbar owed some of his noble characteristics, which made his reign a landmark in the history of India, to his mother who was a Persian lady. To the instances given by Mr. Beveridge we may add that of Nur-Jehan who also was a Persian lady and who, to a great extent, chastened the life of Jehangir who was rash, headstrong and wild in his early youth.

(*c*) The Mogul emperors looked to the courts of Persian kings as their models in the government of India.

Mr. Beveridge's interesting paper refers specially to later times. But even in much earlier times, Persia was not without its influence. The influence of the West upon the East and of the East upon the West is a great question. Whether Greek civilization influenced India or Indian civilization influenced Greece has been a question of some difference of opinion. It seems that the influence was mutual and it was Persia that acted as an intermediary between Greece and India. It is in more sense than one that Persia is called "the Highway of Human Life."

As a typical instance of Persia's influence over India in the matter of art, we may most prominently refer to the ancient Indian coinage of Cutch, Guzerat, Kathiawar, and other parts of India.

The Parsees would read with pardonable pride the following words of Mr. Beveridge. He says, "The Persian settlers in Guzerat—the forefathers of the

modern Parsees, did the same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the blood of the Indian nations. When we think of what the Parsees have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think that there is good in religious persecutions, and that like Kingsley's 'Wild North-Easter' they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world."

The introduction of new arts and sciences referred to by Mr. Beveridge in the above passage is the result of their search after knowledge. Mahomed, the great prophet of the Mahomedans, is said to have said some good words of the Persians whom his later followers persecuted, and of these good words, some were about their search after knowledge. He is reported to have said, "If knowledge were attached to the ends of the sky, some amongst the Persians would have reached it."[1]

Mr. Beveridge's comparison of the Parsees with the Huguenots of England and the Puritans of America reminds us of the observation of another scholar that the ancient Persians were the Puritans of the ancient world.

While writing these few observations on the subject of India's debt to Persia, I am tempted to quote the views of a distinguished son of India on the subject. The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose said the other day in his undelivered Congress speech at Surat: "But perhaps her (Surat's) greatest distinction, it is certainly her best title to our gratitude, is that Surat was the first resting place on Indian soil, where dissent was never suppressed by the sword, the gibbet or the stake, of the Parsee *pilgrim fathers* who cheerfully left home and kindred for the sake of conscience, and whose descendants have inherited the virtues with the blood of their ancestors and repaid their debt a thousandfold to India; for I make bold to say that there is no community whose love for the country is greater than that to which so many of our leaders belong, and which has given to us our 'Grand Old Man."

Dr. Ludwig, in his learned paper on "Gleanings from Pāstô" comes to the conclusion that Pastu, "as a language goes back to a very remote antiquity." This conclusion then supports the claim of the Afghans, who, as said by Lieut. Burton, "claim a high antiquity for their language" and who "piously and graphically

[1] Nicholson's "Literary History of the Arabs," p. 278.

describe the prophet as using Pushtû with the same facility as he could talk Arabic or Hebrew, Zend or Syriac."[1]

As to the stock of languages to which Pushtû belongs, Dr. Ludwig seems to think that it belongs to the Indian or Indo-Teutonic stock. Opinions have differed on this point. Capt. Ravety said in 1860 that the Afghans were "a remnant of the last tribes of Israel."[2] This view has led to the supposition that their language was Semitic. In the second volume of the Asiatic Researches,[3] Mr. Henry Vansittart has given "the translation of an abridged history of the Afghans." In this history, the descent of the Afghans has been traced from the Jews. This seems to have led Sir William Jones, to whom the translation was at first sent with a letter, to conclude that the Pushtû language resembled the Chaldian. Dr. Dorn was the first to show in 1847 that Pushtû belonged to the family of Indo-Persian languages, and that it was not Semitic at all.[4] Dr. Haug has considered it as a language belonging to the affiliated group of the Iranian dialects.[5] The late Professor Darmesteter who had specially come down to India to study this language has come to the conclusion that it is Iranian and is an offshoot of the Zend. He calls it "le Zende de Arachosia."[6]

Dr. Ludwig, while writing about the Pushtû word *wrîzê*, says that "rice is not mentioned before the end of the fourth century B. C. to have been cultivated in Persia, Mesopotamia and Babylonia." This, I think, seems to be confirmed by several facts:—

1. Herodotus mentions wheat as the staple food in Persia in the time of Cambyses. When the Persian messengers went to the court of the Ethopean king, the latter considered Persian wheat to be inferior to his African wheat.[7] In the description of the preparations of the war of Xerxes against the Greeks as given by Herodotus it is wheat, that is mentioned and not rice.[8]

2. In the Avesta we do not find any word for rice.

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[1] *Vide* Lieut. Burton's paper entitled "Notes and Remarks on Dr. Dorn's Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language." Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. III, No. XII, pp. 58-69.

[2] A Dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto or language of the Afghan, Preface, p. xvii.

[3] Vol. II (1799) pp. 67-75.

[4] Dr. Dorn's "Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan language," Preface, p. ii.

[5] Haug's Essays, 2nd edition, pp. 65-67.

[6] Journal Asiatique, Huitiéme Série, Tome XVI, pp. 19-180.

[7] Herodotus, Bk. III, 22.

[8] *Ibid*, Bk. VII, 119.

3. The Chinese account of Persia in the fourth century, as presented by Mr. Kentock Hori's paper in this volume says that rice was not known in Persia.

In his paper on "A Concensus of Opinion on the Exegesis of the Avesta" Dr. Mills refers to a concensus in opinion arrived at in the matter of a great mass of the Avesta documents. The cause of comparative religion will greatly advance when that concensus would be more general and when one can speak with great confidence on the authority of the Avesta itself, about the views held by the ancient Persians upon different points. Dr. Mills' appreciation of Dr. Spiegel's work is worthy of a scholar, especially of one who follows in the footsteps of Spiegel in the matter of attaching due importance to Pahlavi in the study of the Avesta.

Mr. Mehrjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka's paper on the "Prehistoric Relations between Irân and Egypt" presents five points which lead to show that there existed some relations between the ancient Irânians and the ancient Egyptians in prehistoric times. As to what that relation was, Mr. Kuka says that, in very early times "a colony of Irânians, calling themselves followers of the sun-god Hvar, settled on the banks of the Nile." It is possible that the descent from a common stock may be the reason of the similarity of beliefs among these two people and that the relations may have been at first established in a common country on the continent of Asia. Wilkinson says on this point: "Everyone who considers the features, the language, and other peculiarites of the ancient Egyptians, will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction, but that they bear the evident stamp of an Asiatic origin. . . . And if features and other external appearances are insufficient to establish this fact, the formation of the skull, which is decidedly of the Caucasian variety, must remove all doubts of their valley having been peopled from the East. . . . . There has always been a striking resemblance between the Egyptians and Asiatics, both as to their manners, customs, language and religion ; and some authors have considered the valley they inhabited to belong to Asia rather than to Africa. . . . . In manner, language, and many other respects, Egypt was certainly more Asiatic than African. It is not improbable that those two nations (the Hindus and Egyptians) may have proceeded from the same original stock and have migrated southwards from their parent country in Central Asia." [1]

[1] Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, by J. G. Wilkinson, Vol. I., p 3.

As to the point of resemblance in the matter of "the spiritual double" or the Egyptian *Ka* and the Irânian Fravashi referred to by Mr. Kuka, Dr. Wiedemann's detailed description[1] of the Egyptian belief about the future of the soul enables us to see several points of similarity between the Egyptian belief and the Iranian belief. On the point of the Egyptian belief about the future of the soul, Dr. Wiedemann, says that the Egyptians believed that "in addition to his body, man had also an immortal soul. This was not considered, as among most races, a single entity, but a composite one; in life, the component parts had been united, at death they parted each to find its own way to the gods.[2]" We know that the Avesta has a similar belief. According to the belief of the ancient Egyptians, the spiritual constituents of the soul were Ka, Âb, Ba, Sakhem, Sâhu, Khaib, Khu and Osiris.[3] According to the Avesta, the spiritual constituents are the *ahu* (Life), *daêna* (conscience), *baôdha* (intellect), *urvâna* (soul), and the *fravashi* (the guiding spirit).[4] Of these two sets of constituents, one Egyptian and the other Irânian, the Egyptian *ka* resembled, as pointed out by Mr. Kuka, to the Irânian Fravashi. Then the Egyptian *Ab* (Heart) corresponded to the Irânian *Daêna*. The third Egyptian component *Ba* (soul) corresponded to the Irânian *Urvâno*. The fourth component *Sakhem*, which, according to Wiedemann, was "the personified power of strength of the deceased," corresponded to the *Ahu* or *Anghu* of the Avesta, which is replaced, in one place,[5] by the word *Tevishi*, *i. e.*, strength.

In the matter of the judgment after death, referred to by Mr. Kuka, on entering into details, as given by Dr. Wiedemann, we find six points of resemblance between the Egyptian and Irânian beliefs.

Again, the belief in resurrection presents another point of similarity in the beliefs of these two ancient nations. It was this belief that had led the Egyptians to the costly process of mummying the dead bodies and the Irânians to the comparatively cheaper process of the *Astodâns* or ossuaries.

For a detailed version of these points of resemblance between these two ancient nations, I would refer my readers to my paper on "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Irânians."[6]

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[1] Religion of the ancient Egyptians, by Alfred Wiedemann, Ph. D.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 240.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 242. [4] Yaçna Ha. XXVI. 6. [5] Yaçna, LV. 1.

[6] Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 365-374. *Vide* my "Asiatic papers," pp. 137-146.

In his paper on "Irânian Mythology: Comparison of a few Irânian episodes with Hindu and Greek stories" Mr. Pallonji Burjorjee Desai handles, in an interesting way, one of his favourite subjects of study. Though, as Mr. Desai says, it is not the object of his paper to defend the good faith of the mythology of his Aryan forefathers, he wisely remarks that "the mythology of the Aryans was not a collection of absurd stories to gratify a low taste or please a filthy mind, but it has a pure meaning of its own and a good purpose to serve." As the late Prof. Max Müller has said "Everything is true, natural, significant, if we enter with a reverent spirit into the meaning of ancient art and ancient language. Everything becomes false, miraculous, and unmeaning, if we interpret the deep and mighty words of the seers of old in the shallow and feeble sense of modern chroniclers." [1] As I have said elsewhere, myths or "legends have generally a framework or foundation of historical truth under them." [2] From the fact, that some of the events of the lives of persons like Yima (Jamshed) and Faridun have been, in later generations, exaggerated or given a particular turn, and from the fact, that they fit in for an explanation of some meteorological or solar phenomena, we must not be led to believe that the persons did not at all exist as historical personages. "The mere fact of a historic person being raised by later generations, or by the people of another country, into the position and dignity of a deity, does not make him less a historic person." [3]

In the matter of such personages whose name and fame have, after many ages passed into the state of myths and legends, we must be cautious, not to be wholly guided by the parallel references to them in the Vedic or Indian writings written by contemplative Hindu philosophers. Prof. Max Müller in his paper on "The Veda and Zend Avesta," [4] draws a line of distinction between the contemplative frame of mind of the Aryans who descended south into India and the practical and active frame of mind of those that went to the west and north-west. He says: "The Aryan nations who pursued a north-westerly direction, stand before us in history as the principal nations of North-Western Asia and Europe. They have been the prominent actors in the great drama of history, and have carried to their fullest growth all the

1 Science of Language, 2nd series, p. 579.
2 A Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of view, p. 42.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
4 Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I (2nd) ed., 1880. p., 62 at seq.

elements of active life with which our nature is endowed . . . . . In a word, they represent the Aryan mind in his historical character . . . His (Hindu's) mind was like the lotus leaf after a shower of rain has passed over it ; his character remained the same, passive, meditative, quiet, and thoughtful . . . The ancient Hindus were a nation of philosophers." [1]

So, in whatever light you may look to legends like those of Jamshed or Faridun, you will find that, in the Avesta, the personages are made to stand and act on the plane of this world. Yima was a mortal in the eye of an Irânian. It was the Indian who made him a god. Persia, the country of Faridun, has not made him a god. It is India that has made him so. As Col. Garnier says: "We have before our eyes, the fact, that the worship of the dead, or of men celebrated for their power, wisdom or piety, has always, and in all ages, been one of the predominant tendencies, of human nature." [2] He also says, that "in the case of ancient profane history and tradition, it is evident that while fable and exaggeration would be almost certain to collect round the memories of celebrated persons, yet they are no proof that these persons never existed." [3]

To the list of the several episodes of other countries, referred to by Mr. Pallonji Desai as resembling the episodes of ancient Irân, one may add that of the Legend of Tristan as known in Britain. The late Mr. Edward Tyrrel Leith has compared it with that of Faridun. [4]

Dr. Eugene Wilhelm's paper on "Analogies in Irânian and Armenian Folklore" tends to show that, as ancient Irân had great influence over Armenia in the matter of its life, religion, political organization, jurisdiction and language, there is no wonder if it had influenced even its folklore. We know that Armenia was long under the sway of Zoroastrian sovereigns. Even under the Roman emperors it had Zoroastrians as its governors. We learn from Tacitus[5] that, Tiridates and Valkhash, who ruled over it at the time of the Roman emperor Nero, were staunch Zoroastrians and belonged to the priestly class. It was in the third century after Christ

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1 *Ibid.*, pp. 65,66.
2 The Worship of the Dead by Col. J. Garnier, Preface p. viii.
3 *Ibid.*, p. vi.
4 Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. IX., pp. 101-133.
5 Works of Tacitus, Vol. I.—The Annals, Bk. XV. The Oxford Translation, p. 24.

that Zoroastrian Irân began to lose, to a great extent, its religious influence over Armenia. In the beginning of the fourth century Armenia was well-nigh wholly Christianized.[1] Armenia was never thoroughly Zoroastrian. Its religion was "probably a mixture of Zoroastrianism, of Greek mythology, and of some other doctrines brought by their ancestors from Scythia."[2] The Zervanites or the followers of a particular belief connected with Zervana Akarana belonged largely to Armenia. Under all these circumstances it is natural that ancient Irân had a great influence over Armenia in various ways and among them in the matter of its folklore.

Dr. Wilhelm refers to the Irânian hero Rustam, and says that the Armenian legends refer to his deeds. The Armenians had their own national hero who resembled Rustam. Rustam is described by Firdousi as an unique person whose deeds of one kind or another have their parallels in the folklore of a number of nations. Mr. Potter's recent book "Sohrab and Rustam"[3] is full of many new materials on this point.

The following are the principal points on which, as pointed out by Dr. Wilhelm, the popular beliefs of the Armenians and the Persians are common :—

1. The opposition between Light and Darkness, or between the spirits of light and the bad spirits.
2. Heaven and hell.
3. (*a*) The stay of the soul of a deceased person for three days after death in the neighbourhood of the body; (*b*) its progress towards a bridge; and (*c*) the judgement.
4. The pious remembrance of the spirits of the dead, the Fravashis.
5. The veneration of the sun and the moon.
6. The veneration of fire.
7. The impurity caused by the corpse and by such other dead matter.
8. The Daêvas and the Drujs.

Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia gives us two papers. His first paper, which gives a translation of the Kisseh-i-Sultan Mahomed, throws, as the writer says, some sidelight on the state of the court of Sultan Mahomed of Gazni. We learn from the biographers of Firdousi, that there was a good deal of court intrigue in his

[1] *Vide* Prof. Rehatsek's paper on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions from its beginning till the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty," Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIII, pp. 18–108. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[3] "The Epic Theme of a combat between father and son. A study of its genesis and use in Literature and popular Tradition," by Mr. Murray Anthony Potter (1902.)

durbar and that Firdousi had fallen a victim to that intrigue. The Kisseh says that race-feeling also was a cause that led to the intrigue against the poet.

The Kisseh is one which may be called a politico-religious writing. It is one of the several Kissehs connected with the Zoroastrian religion, which we find in the collections of the Revâyets. It is translated for the first time in English in this paper. A Gujrati version of this Kisseh and of some other Kissehs of this kind has been published, ere this, by Ervad Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur in his "Revayet-i-Dastur Dârâb Hamajiâr." M. Mohl refers to this Kisseh under the title of "Histoire du sultan Mahmoud de Ghaznin" in his "Livre des Rois."[1] He says of this Kisseh: "On y raconte que Mahmoud rassembla un grand nombre de poëtes à sa cour, et que Firdousi y composa son livre de rois. Les poëtes en furent chagrins et dans leur heine et leur jalousie, ils firent un pacte entre eux, et se lièrent par un serment qui devait être inviolable. Cela fait, ils se présentèrent devant Mahmoud et lui conseillèrent de forcer les Parses, sous peine de mort, d'embrasser l'islamisme. La suite du livre contient la lutte qui s'éleva, à cette occasion, entre le sultan et les Parses, qui finissent par avoir le dessus. Les Parses avaient donc tellement adopté Firdousi, qu'il passait, dans leurs légendes, pour un coreligionnaire, et qu'ils ne savaient pas imaginer une cause plus vraisemblable de la persécution qu'ils auraient eue à supporter de la part de Mahmoud que la jalousie des rivaux de Firdousi envers ce poëte."

M. Mohl's statement that the ancient Persians took Firdousi to be one of their co-religionists seems to have been based on the fact that, in some old manuscripts of the Zoroastrian ritual, we find the name of Firdousi Tusi recited in the Dhup-Nirang or the Nirang-i-Bui dâdan, as one of the known saintly persons. I have come across a manuscript about 200 years old wherein Firdousi's name is so commemorated.[2]

At the end of the Kisseh, as translated by Mr. Antia, we find a short statement of the rise, fall and renaissance of the Zoroastrian religion. It is an incomplete and modified version of what we read on the subject in the Dinkard.

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[1] Le Livre des Rois, Vol. I., Preface, p. liii.

[2] *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (p. 49) for an account of this manuscript.

"The tree of everything," referred to in the Kisseh as brought by Zoroaster and planted in a fire-temple, is the cypress tree referred to by Firdousi[1] and by the author of the Dabistan.[2]

Ervad Edalji Antia's second paper gives a translation of the legend of Kershasp as given in the Revâyets. The late Dr. West has given us his translation of the legend as given in the summary of the Sudkar Nask in the ninth book of the Dinkard.[3] As Dr. West says, the Pahlavi legend breaks off at a certain point, "leaving the reader to infer that Zarathushtra's request was granted."[4] The Persian version of the legend in the Revayet, as given in Ervad Antia's paper,[5] supports this inference. We read there the following: "When the prophet Zarathushtra solicited a good deal, the Ameshaspand Ardibehesht said: 'Thy position is exalted and thy wish is great; therefore, I forgive Kershasp his sin, and shall not torment his soul hereafter'. By the entreaties of Zarathushtra, the soul of Kershasp obtained relief and went into heaven."

Mr. Ratanji Fardunji Gorvala's paper on "The Immortal Soul: its pre-existence, persistence after death and transmigration," presents a view of the belief in re-incarnation, a question that is now and then discussed by Parsee theosophists. Mr. Gorvala tries to show that there are, here and there, stray allusions in some of the old works of the Parsees which point to a belief in that doctrine. Apart from the main question, Mr. Gorvala has made in his paper a good collection of the passages in various Parsee books referring to the state of the soul. As far as the question of pre-existence of the soul is concerned, I think many would agree with Mr. Gorvala. When Zoroastrian books speak of the Fravashis of those unborn, the door is quite open for a belief in the pre-existence of souls. Again, all those who would believe in a kind of future life or in the immortality of the soul must be prepared for a belief in some kind of transmigration. But the main point of difference is, as to, on what plane the transmigration takes place. There are many who believe in some kind of Progress or even Fall for the soul, but they say that, that occurs on planes other than that of this earth.

[1] Vuller, Vol. III., p. 1499.
[2] Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 306-309. *Vide* Ousley's Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 380. *Vide* my paper on the Cypress of Zoroaster in the Zaratoshti, Vol. I., No. 1.
[3] S. B. E. XVIII., Pahlavi Texts, Part II., pp. 369-382.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 381.
[5] p. 98.

There are a number of passages referred to or quoted by Mr. Gorvala on which other scholars would put other interpretations. So, opinions would continue to differ, not only on the matter of the belief, but on the subject of the interpretations put on several passages. We see the same thing in the case of Christian writers on such subjects. Many a modern Christian divine is against the belief in the transmigration of the soul, but those who believe in it point to several passages in the New Testament as pointing to that belief. For example, they point to St. Matthew XVII. 12-13 and St. Mark VIII. 27-28 as stating that the disciples of Christ understood him to say that the soul of Elias had appeared in John the Baptist. The question handled by Mr. Gorvala is one of the several questions of religion and philosophy, for which many would simply say "not proven." Looking to the practical side of religion I am inclined to say, that, it is not a question of great vital importance. As long as those who are for or against the belief base their conduct upon the adage "You will reap as you will sow," religion is safe and is neither upheld nor overthrown by one kind of belief or another.

In his paper on "The signification of the words Upâzananãm Upâzôit," Mr. Ardeshir Khurshedji Vesavevâlâ presents to us an interesting collection of views held by various scholars on the signification of the words which indicate a peculiar form of punishment known to the ancient Irânians. Scholars differ as to what the instruments Aspahê-ashtra and Sraosho-charana are. But, that question is not of much importance. The principal question is, whether the instruments were used on the culprits or were used by the culprits. As pointed out by Mr. Vesavevala, Anquetil, Haug, Darmesteter and others hold that they were to be used on the culprits who had the option of escaping from that form of punishment by the payment of a fine, just as now-a-days a person can, to a certain extent, escape imprisonment by the payment of a fine. Professors Spiegel, Harlez, Justi and others are of opinion that the instruments were to be used by the culprits in killing certain noxious creatures which infested the country. Mr. Vesavevala is inclined to agree with the latter class of scholars. I think that, that is the proper interpretation. Just imagine, what a blessing it would be, at present, if the Government were to organise a scheme, by which the criminal class of Bombay could be asked, as a sort of punishment for their crimes, to kill a certain number of rats and present them before the authorities. If that were possible, plague would soon be gone from Bombay, or, at

least, much diminished. Such forms of punishment—though not for criminal faults—are not rare even during the present times. It is said that at one time the Government of Massachusetts had decreed that all marriageable persons should marry. In the case of the defaulters, they decreed, that they were to kill every year eight crows and six other noxious creatures.

Right Rev. Dr. Casartelli's "Note on the Probable Date of Zarathushtra," in spite of the author's assertion that he does not consider it as an argument, seems, even as "an *a priori* historical consideration," to throw its weight in the scale which contains all the arguments leading to show that Zoroaster flourished in the 7th century before Christ. As Dr. Casartelli says "Important authorities, both European and Asiatic, still hold to higher antiquity." Taking the interesting table as given by our author, the period of 107 years between 622 B.C. and 515 B.C. presents "a brilliant galaxy of highly gifted sacred thinkers."

It is very strange that, in this controversy about the date of Zoroaster, Parsee scholars are generally inclined to doubt the authority of their own Irânian authors and to support that of the classical writers. But, as I have said elsewhere, both the classical writers and the old Iranian writers seem to be right in their statements, if we suppose that, as said by one of the classical writers, there lived more than one Zoroaster. The question requires to be more deeply looked into from this point of view.

Another question of great importance to be studied and settled with this question is whether the Achæmenians were the contemporaries or the successors of the Kyanians. A settlement of this question would, to a certain extent, go to the settlement of the question of the date of Zoroaster. For example, those Irânian books which connect Lohrâsp and Nebuchednezzar in one way or another, lead to show that the Acheæmenians were not the successors of the Kyanians, but that they were contemporaries, one dynasty ruling in the West and the other in the East, the former perhaps beginning their career as vassals of the latter.

Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, in his paper entitled "A new translation of two passages from the Bundahish" suggests an amended translation of two passages of the Bundahish taking the text of the Greater Bundahish for his passages. In the case of the first passage (chap. VII. 10), if the text of TD[2] is, by the addition of the word *hâvand*, an improvement on other texts, it is defective

in this, that it omits the word *nirû* (𐬦𐬌𐬭𐬎) in the first part of the passage after the word 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. Dastur Kaikhosru has had to assume the words "at (Tishtar's) strength" though there is no word in the passage of TD_2 quoted by him to admit of this translation. Justi's text and the text followed by Dr. West give the word.

In the case of the second passage (chap. VIII. 3-4) the additional words, 'lâ shâyed' seem to be a later addition, added with a view to render the meaning more clear. What the writer seems to mean is this: a long range of mountains connects all the parts of the earth and keeps it steady. Mahomedan writers also seem to believe that God created mountains to keep the earth steady. Modern Geographers say that a long range of mountains extends in the eastern hemisphere from east to west. It is about 9,000 miles in length. Other mountains north and south of this range are its offshoots.[1]

No doubt, the TD manuscript referred to by Dastur Kaikhosru and the DH (Dastur Hoshangji's) manuscript which is older than that, are very valuable, but one must be careful in accepting all their additions as originals or as portions omitted by later manuscripts. Dr. West's words on this point are worth bearing in mind. He says: "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscripts have been carefully examined. . . . . But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls Zâdsparam, one of his contemporaries (see chap. XXXIII. 10, 11 of the translation). It may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest."[2] In the preface of my translation of Bundehesh, I have referred to two points which lead me "to infer that the additional matter found in the lately discovered manuscripts TD, TD_2 and DH is the addition of later writers and does not form a part and parcel of the original Bundehesh."[3]

Nâib-Dastur Mionocher Jamaspji Jamasp Asa's paper on "The Bundahish and the Paradise Lost" presents an interesting reading to students of comparative religion. It is, as pointed out by the author, a supplement to the interesting paper

[1] Anstead's Physical Geography, Fifth Edition (1871), page 78.
[2] S. B. E. Vol. V, Introduction xxxviii.
[3] *Vide* my Bundehesh: English Preface, p. 5; Gujrati Preface, pp. 19-20.

on "The Modern Avesta of Milton" by Mr. Bomanji Nusservanji Dhabhar, in the Cama Memorial Volume. Such attempts at comparison are useful, as they popularize among the Parsees some of the religious thoughts of the Avesta.

The thoughts of Milton in his religious poems are Christian thoughts; so, in the end, the comparison lies between the Avesta and the Bible. I would draw the attention of my readers to a recent interesting book entitled "Bible Myths" by Mr. Doane. It presents a number of thoughts and beliefs which are common to Christianity and to Zoroastrianism and other religions.

The very first quotation of our author from Milton and his comparison of the passage with the thoughts of the Bundahish show us, in a striking way, how one and the same thing can be held to be good or bad according as it proceeds from a good or an evil source. Grown up people in the happy *Vara* (enclosure) of Jamshed, appeared as young and healthy as persons of 15 years of age, and that was held as an indication of the existence of a golden age. The Evil Spirit appeared before the wicked Gêh as a young man of 15 and that was held as an indication of a dark age.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler's paper, entitled "A Note on Fields for Zoroastrian Archæological Research in Persia and in India," is very thoughtful and suggestive. With the learned author of the paper, I would ask my Parsee readers, whether "It is premature to hope that the enlightened community of the Parsis may perhaps set a movement on foot with regard to their antiquities in Persia and India and establish a fund for archæological research with reference to Zoroastrianism, to be conducted by their own scholars in collaboration with Occidental investigators." We have one student who is at present studying under the roofs of Mr. Schuyler's Columbia College in New York under the able teachership of Prof. Jackson, and who, we expect, will soon ripen into a scholar. We look to him to work in the field suggested by our author on his way to India. It is hoped that the Parsees of Bombay will make it possible and convenient for Mr. Manockjee Dhala to go and stay in Persia for a couple of years and make archæological researches.

While writing on this subject, I remember a similar suggestion made by another distinguished countryman of Mr. Schuyler, the late Col. Olcott, one of the founders of the Theosophical Society in India. Acting up to his suggestion, I had the pleasure of putting myself in communication with some of the learned societies of Europe with a view that, when they sent some archæological expeditions to Persia or Central

Asia, they might have a Parsee scholar from here with them. I hope that what was not done then, may be done now, and Mr. Dhala's services may be engaged for the purpose.

[•*. In his German article نیاطوس توتیانوس نیاتور Nyâtur, Tütyanus, Nyâtus, M. Rosenberg tries to determine, who the Greek, referred to in the Desâtîr and the Dabistan under the above various forms as a disciple of Zoroaster, is. To enable all the readers of this volume to understand this interesting article I give at the end of the volume a rough English translation kindly made at my request by a friend. Troyer in his translation of the Dabistan[1] says, on the authorities of St. Clement of Alexandria and Jamblicus, that the person is Pythagoras, of whom Diogenes said that he was instructed by Zabratus and Nazaratus, two names that can be identified as other forms of Zarâtusht. M. Rosenberg says, that the name of Pythagoras was, in the East, a name, as it were, to conjure with. So possibly this person, in spite of the difference of time that one can refer to in opposition to this identification, may be Pythagoras, who, as said in some later books, was a disciple of Zoroaster. Niâtûs (نیاطوس) may be another form of Tutyanus or Nyâtur, formed by the change of diacritical points. But we know, that long before the dates of the Desatîr and the Dabistân, Firdousi used this name as that of the Greek prince who visited the court of Khosru Parviz (Chosroes II).

Rev. Dr. Abraham Yohannan, in his interesting paper, entitled "Some passages in Persian Literature relating to Zoroaster," gives four notes on some points referred to by Prof. Jackson in his "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran."

As to the first note on "The Fire Burzîn," I would refer my readers for my views, to my short essay[2] on the subject in my Iranian Essays, Part I. This fire is referred to twice in the Âtash Nyâish, once in the Âfrin-i-Ardâfarosh, once in the Âfrin-i-Rapithavin, and once in the Âfrin-i-Haft Ameshâspand. It is the sacred fire of one of the three great fire-temples—Âdar Gushasp, Âdar Khordâd and Âdar Burzîn Meher—referred to in the Âtash Nyâish.

Hûsain Vafâi's way of writing and etymology are not suggested by the above Parsee writings. In the Pahlavi rendering of the Âtash Nyâish, it is written as

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[1] The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., p. 277, n. 1.

[2] "આદર ઝુરજીન નામનાં એક પુરાણાં આતશને લગતી હકીકત" ઈરાની વિષયો pp. 161-66.

burzîn[1] and not *barzîn*. In the Pazend portion of the Atash Nyaish it is written *bûrjîn* (𐬠𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬌). It is similarly written in all the above-named three Âfrins. In the Bundehesh also it is similarly written.

Again, Hûsain Vafâî associates its foundation or consecration to king Kaikhosrau, but Parsee books connect it with king Vishtâsp. Now, I think, it is the story of another fire which tempted Hûsain Vafâî, on the ground of false analogy, to connect it with Kaikhosrau and to derive it from *zin*, saddle. It is the fire Âdar Gushasp,[2] of which the Bundehesh says, that "when Kaî-khûsrôh was extirpating the idol temples of Lake Chaechast it settled upon the mane of his horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom and made it quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol temples."[3]

We see from this passage of the Bundehesh, that the sacred fire of one of the three great fire-temples of ancient Iran was connected with the horse of king Kaikhosrau, On the analogy of this story, referred to in the Parsee books, Hûsain Vafâî seems to have connected the foundation of another fire also with the horse of king Kaikhosrau, Now, as far as the story itself goes, there is nothing unnatural in it. It seems to be the version of a phenomenon of atmospheric electricity like St. Elmo's fire. According to Rawlinson and others, the district round lake Urumiyah (Chaechast) is one where such atmospheric phenomena are frequent. So, it is quite natural, that, when king Kaikhosrau went to conquer the fort, which, it was proposed by Kaikaus, that either he or Fariburz should conquer, an electrical phenomenon took place and the metallic part of the harness of his horse drew, like the electric rod, the electricity of the atmosphere towards it and produced the phenomenon of a brilliant light. Kaikhosrau took it as a good omen, and, encouraged by it, attacked and captured the fort and town. When Philip of Macedon attacked Byzantium, it was a similar phenomenon that encouraged the Byzantines to repulse his attack, and their victory led to the adoption of the "Crescent," in which form the light appeared, as a symbol on their flags. That this was a phenomenon of electric light is shown by the fact that the word "Âdar Gushasp" is used for "electricity" or lightning by Firdousi and others.

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[1] 𐬠𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬠𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬌

[2] For the history of this great fire-temple, *vide* my Iranian Essays, Part I., pp. 134–148.

[3] West, S. B. E, Vol. V., chap. XVII, 7.

Rev. Dr. Abraham gives in inverted commas the translation of Fordousi's verse

یکي آذری ساخت بر زین نام ∴ که با فرخی بود وبارای وکام

as "Burzīn, who was possessed of prosperity and judgment and love, established a fire (temple)." I beg to submit another translation for this couplet. I would translate it as—

"He founded (lit. made) a fire, Burzīn by name, because he was (a man) with splendour, judgment and desire."

Dr. Yohannan takes his notes to be a supplement, in one or two places, to the volume of Prof. Jackson, and they form an interesting supplement from a traditional point of view. I would take this opportunity to give, as a supplement to Prof. Jackson's excellent collection of the references to Zoroaster by various authors, a passage from an English writer which has not been hitherto referred to. The passage is from a "Universal History," published under the title of Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden, a Benedictine monk of St. Werburg's Abbey in Chester, who died in the latter half of the 14th century. The passage is referred to by Dr. Mackay in his "History of Freemasonry" as follows:—"The Polychronicon, with which we see that the old Masons were familiar, had told them that Zoroaster, King of Bactria, had inscribed the seven liberal arts and sciences on fourteen pillars, seven of brass and seven of brick."[1]

In his paper "On the Etymology of Sanskrit aśru, Avestan asru, Greek dákru" Mr. Edward Sapir seeks a resemblance and "identity in etymology" between the Avesta word *asru* and the Greek word *dákru*, both meaning a tear. Mr. Sapir arrives "at the result that **dák*$_1$ *ru* and **ak*$_1$ *rôm* (**ok*$_1$ *rôm*) are distinct in form, but psychologically identical. Both are adjectives defining a noun 'water' as 'sharp, biting,' which is truly an apt enough description of 'tear' . . It was necessary to characterize or describe 'tear' as a certain kind of water." We know that in idiomatic phraseology the word 'water' is used for 'tear' in several languages. For example "water in the eye" (આંખમાં પાણી) is another expression for a 'tear' (આંસુ *ánsu*) in Gujarati.

Mr. Sapir begins his paper with quotations from the Meher Yasht and Homer's Iliad. In the one, it is the ox that sheds tears, in the other, it is the horse.

[1] Mackay's History of Freemasonry, Vol. I., p. 49. *Vide*, my article on the Legendary history of Freemasonry in the Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume, p. 161.

Mr. Sapir speaks of "the obvious resemblance in the idea contained in the Avestan and the Greek passages." The horses of Patroclus, referred to by our author, can more appropriately be compared with the horse of king Kaikhosrau referred to in the Âban Yasht (Yasht V. 50). The horse referred to in the Âban Yasht is the horse Behezad بهزاد of the Shâhnâmeh. Firdousi represents the horse as weeping for the death of Siâvakhsh when he sees his late master's son Kaikhosrau before him.[1]

Dr. Louis H. Gray's paper on "Mâongha gaochithra" is very interesting from an anthropological point of view. The ancients seem to have connected the idea of seed-bearing or fertility with the moon from what they saw in nature. They saw that the moon shone with the borrowed light of the sun. They further saw that the sun was, as it were, the generating agent and the moon the conceiving agent. It was during the night, when the moon ruled supreme, that they saw the vegetation growing. Each morning brought with it some kind of development. So the moon was the emblem of fertility and fecundity. It was therefore the favourite of the female sex. Even the poets, when they spoke of the beauty of a female, compared her generally with the moon and rarely with the sun. This idea had crept up even in symbolic decoration. A Parsee priest when investing a Zoroastrian child with *sudrah* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread) puts a symbolic mark on the forehead of the child with a red pigment known as *kunku* as an auspicious symbol. If the child is a male, he puts the mark in the form of a long arrow or ray, but if it is a female, in the form of a small round circle. As the sun is a generating agent, the ray-like symbol points to the male child as a generating agent in the growth of mankind. As the moon is a conceiving agent, the female child, whose province in nature is to conceive at the proper time, has her forehead marked with a moon-like circle.

Dr. Kirste's paper on "The transliteration of Pehlevi" is a learned contribution on the subject of the vexed question of the proper transliteration of Palhavi. Dr. West's and Ervad Tehemuras's papers on the subject in the Cama Memorial Volume and Dr. Kirste's paper in the present volume do not all point to a common solution of the question. The different renderings by these different scholars make

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[1] همي بود برجاي شبرنگزاد ∴ ز دو چشم او چشمها بر گشاد

(Vuller's Text, Vol. II, p. 732.)

Vide my paper on "The Horse in Ancient Iran," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IV, No. 1. *Vide* also my Iranian Essays, Part I, Eglish Preface, p. 12, and pp. 149-59.

the transliteration more difficult to read and understand than the original Palhavi itself. I have to repeat what I said in the Cama Memorial Volume, when noticing Dr. West's article referred to by Dr. Kirste, that "uniformity in the matter of the transliteration of Palhavi is a desideratum which needs to be supplied."

Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabar's paper on "The Hôm Yasht and 'The Bacchæ' of Euripides: A contrast" rather presents a contrast between the poetical thoughts and the flights of fancy of two poets than that between two cults. The Haoma Yasht is an excellent example of the poetic prose of the Avesta.

Whatever may be the state of the Haoma cult before the advent of Zarathushtra, from what one sees of it in the writings of the Avesta, one can safely say with Mr. Dhabar that "nothing gross or vulgar characterises" its cult. As Zoroaster has said nothing against it, we can say that the chastening influence was due to Zoroaster. It appears that, at first, the juice of the plant was drunk for its medicinal properties. The Afghans even now drink it as a household medicinal decoction.[1]

In his paper on "An Avestan Fragment on the Resurrection," Mr. George Haas gives us the Fragment No. 4 of Westergaard's miscellaneous fragments in a metrical form with its translation and notes. In the fragment, Ahura Mazda recommends to Zoroaster the prayer of Airyaman Ishya (yaçna LIV.), as his best or greatest (mazishta) prayer and says that it shall be repeated by the Saoshyants who will bring about the resurrection when "the dead shall rise up again, and, in their lifeless bodies corporeal life shall be restored." Airyaman is the angel presiding over peace of mind and happiness. So, if we take the word 'Resurrection' in a very broad liberal and general sense, and take it, not as an unique event at the end of a cycle of time, but as an event, or rather a repetition of events, in a person's lifetime when he turns a new leaf as it were in his life, the prayer in honour of the angel is one which a man has to repeat oftener in his life. It is for this reason, that he is invoked and his prayer "Âiryemâ Ishyô" recited in the marriage service of the Parsees.

In my paper on "Mount Arezûra of the Avesta, a Volcanic mountain," I try to show that the mountain, which was associated with Hell, was a volcanic mountain. The din, the thundering voice, the foul stink, the flames, the deep abyss, the smoke, the darkness and such other things, which have been associated with Hell in

1 *Vide* my paper on "Haoma in the Avesta," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, pp. 203-222.

the writings of many nations, are observed by men in a Volcano. The ancient Persians viewed all these in their Mount Arezûra, a volcano in the long lofty range of the Elburz, and so they localized their hell there.

Mr. Nowrojee Dorabji Khandalavala, in his paper on "Ravân and Farohar" submits a few suggestions to explain the subject of the Fravashis from the theosophical point of view. "The Fravashis are," says Mr. Khandalavala, "no other than the Monods which are the centres of life and consciousness clothed in various sheaths of matter." In some of the Parsee books these centres of life and consciousness are considered to be spiritual parts separate from the Fravashis and known under the name of 'Ahu' and 'Baodha.' As our author points out in the words of Dr. Casartelli, there are few Zoroastrian subjects which present more difficulty than that of the Fravashis.

Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unvala's paper on "A few Parsee festivals (Jashans) according to an old Parsee Manuscript," is very interesting from several points of view. Though the writer of the account of the Festivals (Jashans) says, that the customs associated with some of the Jashans were Kyanian in their origin, some on their very face look to be later. We see a Mahomedan tinge in the account of the months as given in the beginning of the paper. The etymology of several Persian words having their origin in the Avesta, as given by Mahomedan authors, is at times absurd. We find a similar case in the etymology of the words of the months sought to be given in this manuscript.

The account of the customs observed on some of the Jashans is very interesting from an anthropological point of view.

Naib Dastur Rustomji Edulji Sanjana's paper, entitled, "What is the first principle of things according to Zarathushtrian doctrine? Is it in conformity with intelligence and nature?", formed the subject of a lecture, delivered by him, before a Zoroastrian audience in September 1907. It is a reply, from a Zoroastrian point of view, to what the author calls the rationalist camp of sceptics who deny the reality of the infinite Being.

After a long interesting dessertation upon his subject, our author says: "So the universe is not infinite and independent." Well, there are many devout Zoroastrians who, I think, will, in the matter of the first point of this assertion, *viz.*, that "the universe is not infinite," like to understand the words "universe" and "infinite" in

their proper bearings. Taking the word "universe" in its broad general sense, and the word "infinite" in its relation, if not to time, to space, one would like to have a more clear interpretation of the terms. However, Naib-Dastur Rustomji's exposition is emphatic and striking from the point of view of the generality of Zoroastrians. His paper presents a marked contrast in some points to those of Messrs. Gorvala and Khandalavala in this volume.

Of all the papers in this volume, I welcome none so much as that on "The Zoroastrian Calendar" by Mr. Khurshedji Rustomji Cama, because it comes from the pen of one, who was for some time a pupil of Dr. Spiegel in Germany, and who had some hand in popularising the name of Dr. Spiegel, especially among the students of Irânian literature here. Mr. Cama has translated some of the writings of Dr. Spiegel from German into English, and has taught, to a number of students, Spiegel's method of teaching and learning.

"The Zoroastrian Calendar" is one of Mr. Cama's favourite subjects and nobody in Bombay knows the subject so well as he. It is his ardent desire in life to reform the erring Calendar. With that object, he had founded the Naoroz Committee, and at the end of its work, has founded "The Fasal Mandal" to cultivate public opinion, to reform the Calendar and to take some practical measures in that direction. Most Parsees are agreed that they should observe the Kabisah by having the leap year and adding one additional day every fourth year. Many are of opinion that, that should be done by beginning the year from the Jamshedi Nowroz day, *i.e.*, the 21st of March. Mr. Cama and a few with him are of opinion, that, if the reform is made, the first Parsee month must be Deh—the present 10th month—and not Farvardin, as at present.

Prof. Jackson's paper on "A Historical Sketch of Ragha, the supposed home of Zoroaster's mother," presents a historical account of Ragha, a city, "sanctified as the cradle of Zoroastrianism, hallowed for a day by the presence of the angel Raphael, exhalted by princes and cast down by conquerors." [1] Prof. Jackson has referred to this city at some length in his "Persia, Past and Present" [2] and has described his interesting visit to its ruins. As mentioned in his above named book[3], he

1 Prof. Jackson's "Persia, Past and Present," p. 428.
2 *Ibid*, Chap. XXVII.
3 *Ibid*, p. 430.

had kindly thought of writing for this volume, "a detailed history of the city," but having had to write it "on shipboard on his way again to Persia," he has presented, what he modestly calls, "a rough draft or outline of the historic annals of the city." The paper is more than a "rough outline." But whatever it be, a peculiar interest is added to it by the fact, that the writer is a scholar who has visited the ruins of this ancient city, and who writes it on shipboard under the burning enthusiasm of a second adventurous visit to Persia, during which he hoped to decide whether "the present ruins at Rai were identical with the location of the Ragha of antiquity," or whether "the site of the ancient city is probably to be sought at the modern Kolah-i-Irag near Veramin." Prof. Jackson is one of the *rara avis* among scholars, who combine with their scholarly habits of study, an enterprising spirit of adventurous journeys into the countries that were the centres of the old literatures of their favourite studies and who have great energy for antiquarian research. One can well imagine the pleasure—full of hopes for the future—with which Prof. Jackson must have placed aside his pen with the last words of his paper "Finished on board the steamer Kronprinz Wilhelm, *en route* for Persia, 28th April, 1907."

Prof. Jackson notes in his paper in passing, "that Rai is not mentioned in the list of cities given in the Palhavi treatise Shatrôihâ-i-Airân," an omission which, he says, Marquart "ascribes to a lacuna in the Palhavi text." *I think that*, Rai, though omitted in that treatise in name, is not omitted in fact, and that the reference to the city of "Âmui" in the treatise (s. 58)[1] is, in fact, a reference to the city of Rai. For a proof for this assertion compare the phraseology of the references to Rai in the Palhavi Vendidad and to Amui in the Shatrôihâ-i-Airân. In the Palhavi Vendidad (chap. I.), it is said of Rai, that, "Zartûsht min zak zinâk yehvunt," *i.e.* Zoroaster was of that place. In the Sharôihâ-i-Airân, it is said of Amui, that, "Zartusht-i-Spitâmân min zak madinâ yehvunt," *i.e.* Zoroaster of Spitama was of that city. We see that in both these references the phraseology is the same, with this difference, that while in one, the word *zinâk* (place) is used, in the other, the word *madinâ* (city) is used. Now, we know that there was a place known as Âmui at some distance from Rai.[2] So I think the reference to the adjoining place of Âmui is a

[1] *Vide*, my "Aiyadgâr-i-Zariân, Shatrôiha-i-Airan and Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Sistan," pp. 116-117 and 160-161.
[2] *Ibid.*

reference to Rai. Perhaps one was the name of a large district or province, and the other was the name of a small town within that district or province.

Prof. Jackson refers to Yazdagard Sheheryâr's daughter, Shahr Banu, who had married Husain "the younger son of Muhammad's daughter and his cousin Ali" and says that her name "is still perpetuated in a mountain called Kuh-i-Bibi Shahr Banu which overlooks Rai." This place was a sacred place for a kind of pilgrimage even among the Zoroastrians of Persia upto as late as 1626 A.C. In the Revâyet brought by Bahman Aspandyâr from Turkâbâd in Persia in 1626 A.C. the writers write to the Indian Parsees, as it were, with some kind of satisfaction or pleasure, that their messenger Bahman Aspandyâr performed the pilgrimage of the place of Khâtûn Banu.[1]

The paper on "A Chinese Account of Persia in the Sixth Century," from the pen of Mr. Kentok Hori, the Budhist Minister of the Church at Western Hongwanji, in Japan, is a welcome contribution to this volume from the Further East, though it comes to my hands from the Further West through the kind offices of Prof. Jackson of America. The paper presents a picture of the Persia of the 4th and 5th century after Christ as conceived by a Chinese writer of the sixth century.

Mr. Hori has given in foot-notes his identification of some of the proper names in the Chinese writing. As he has, in one of his foot-notes, wanted suggestions from his readers, I will add here a few more identifications and observations.

1. The name Niv-mi is, I think, another form of Nimrouz, by which name, Seistan was known in former times. The Palhavi Jamaspi speaks of Seistan as Nimroz.[2] The Pahlavi Shatrōīhâ-i-Airân also gives this name for Seistan.[3] Nimroz seems to be an old name.

2. The statement of the Chinese writer that "there is no rice" in the country of Persia supports the statement to that effect in the paper of Dr. Ludwig, referred to above.[4]

3. Persia is reported by the Chinese author as producing famous horses. This confirms the opinion formed by Sir Robert Kerr on the authority of other old

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[1] *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana, pp. 60-61, n. 6.
دیگر معلوم بوده باشه که خدمت خاتون بانو پارس که زیارت گاه است بهم کرده

[2] *Vide* my Jamaspi, sec. 17, p. 31. [3] *Vide* my 'Aiyâdgar-i-zariran, Shatrōiha-i-Airân, &c., p. 89.

[4] *Vide* above, p. IX.

writers, "that the best cavalry of the East were derived from this part (Siahdan in Persia) of the great Empire of Persia; and the native breed were so highly prized above all others, that Alexander considered a Median horse as the most royal gift he could bestow; and the kings of Parthia chose the same, as the most costly sacrifices they could lay upon the altar of their gods."[1] According to the same author, their hearty spirit and swiftness were the admiration of the East.[2] For further references to the horse in the Avesta and other books I would refer my readers to my paper on "The Horse in Ancient Irân."[3]

4. The Chinese writer derives the name 'Persia' from the words 'Po', which according to him, was the family name of the king of the country, and Sai, which, he says, was the personal name of the king. This derivation rather suggests that the writer seems to explain the Persian word "Pâdshâh" (Palhavi Patukhshâh) meaning 'a king.' The word Sai seems to be another form of Shâh, by which name the kings of Persia are still known. Possibly the word 'Po' is another form of the name 'Pars'. Then Po-Sai would mean "Shah of Pars."

5. As to the description of the custom of the nomination of the heir to the throne by the ruling king, it reminds us of what we read in Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristan,[4] wherein he describes Ardeshir Babegan's arrangement for the nomination of his successor. According to the Chinese writer, "the king chooses from his sons the most intelligent one, enters his name in a document and keeps it in a sealed letter in his treasury without his sons and the ministers knowing it." Dastur Tansar's letter says a similar thing, but says, that the king writes down the name of his successor in three letters instead of in one. These letters are addressed to the Head of the Church (Rais-i-Mobadân), the Chief Secretary (mehtar-i-dabirân) and the Commander-in-Chief (Sepehbad-i-Sepehbadân). This is perhaps to prevent any particular person tampering with the name of the successor.

6. I think, that the word I-tan, said to be the name of the ruler, is another form of "Aê-Shah, *i. e.*," O King!.

7. In Fang-po-so, the word for the consort of the king, the last part po-so, seems to be another form for Posse (Persia); or it may be another form of Padshâh,

1 Kerr Porter's Travels, Vol. I., p. 271.
2 *Ibid* II, p. 206.
3 Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IV., No. 1, pp. 1-14.
4 Journal Asiatique Tome III., March-April, 1894.

i. e., the king. Then the first part of the word, *viz.* 'fang' remains to be explained. It seems to be a corruption of some Pahlavi word indicating 'wife.' Perhaps it is miswritten for 'zan' wife. In Pahlavi the letter ژ is at times read, 'z' as well as 'f'. Even the Persian letter 'z' (ز) is, with a little flourish, likely to be miswritten as 'f,' ف if the top of the form of "ز" is curved a little.

8. The word Ni-hu-han for treasurer may be a misreading of the word Ganjur (گنجور) treasurer. Fridousi often uses the word Ganjur گنجور for the treasurer of the king. Now the word گنجور may be written by a careless writer as گنجور because 'j' (ج) is also written ز. When so written, it may safely be read in-iur. As 'ن' is sometimes written 'ا' the word may be written as انور by a careless writer and then read iu-iun. Then as 'ا' generally ends a word in Pahlavi, a ا of a preceding word was mixed up with the word in-iun. The word would then be انیون niu-iun, a word which comes nearer to the Chinese writer's Ni-hu-han. Of course, as I have explained, the steps of corruption seem to be many, but all these misreadings or miswritings may have been possibly given by one and the same person at one and the same time. Again, it must be remembered, that it is a foreign writer who writes this and perhaps he writes this on the strength of materials derived from a doubtful authority.

Perhaps the word Ni-hu-han may be taken as a corrupted form of khazânchi خزانچی a treasurer. Again, the words "which he opens and closes" suggest, that the word may be some form of nehani نهانی *i. e.*, a secret or concealed place, because, in former times, a treasury was generally kept under the ground.

9. The word Ti-tsau seems to be a form of 'napisht or navish,' *i. e.* a writer.

In his paper entitled "Classical Allusions to the Pearl-fisheries of the Persian Gulf," Mr. G. Payn Quackenbos gives "a chain of contemporary evidence from classical writers . . . . testifying to continuous activity at the Persian oyster-beds for some 700 years, from the era of Alexander to the age of Claudianus, while the probabilities are that the fisheries were worked much earlier than the time of Alexander, perhaps by the Phœnicians, and that from the days of Claudianus to the present time the active search for the white gem has still continued."

When we turn from the classical writers to the Iranian writers, we find that the extant Avesta writings do not refer to pearls. We do not find any word therein for a pearl. Coming to Pahlavi writers we find that the pearl is spoken of as *mûrvârîd* (مروارید).

From the Mâdigân i-Chatrang, [1] (The story of the Chess) we find that pearls formed a part of the rich presents sent by the Indian king Divsaram (Dabislim) to the Iranian king Noshirwan (Chosroes I).

Mr. Quackenbos says about the island referred to by the classical writers that he is not sure about it (?).

I think that the island referred to is that of Khârak, spoken of by Maçoudi as Jazireh-i-khârak (جزیرة خارک). While describing what he calls the Abyssinian Sea (البحر الحبشی)[2]—and I think that by that name we must understand that part of the Indian Ocean which is on the east of Africa—he refers to what he calls the Sea of Persia (بحر فارس). This sea of Persia is what we call the Persian Gulf. He speaks of this gulf as containing several isles, one of which is Khârak. He says of this island that there they fish for pearls known as Kâraki pearls.[3] Further on,[4] Maçoudi speaks of the several seas—and among them the Persian Gulf—which form the Indian Ocean, that they contain "the famous pearl-fisheries" (les fameuses pêcheries de perles صفاصحات الدّر). As to the time of the fishing of the pearls, Maçoudi says[5] that it runs from the commencement of April up to the end of September. Among other pearl-fisheries in the Indian Ocean he names Kotor, Oman and Serendib (Ceylon). He says that some attribute the formation of the pearls to rain-drops. The pearl fishes are as much afraid of those who plunge into the sea for the sake of their pearls as a mother is afraid of her children. Those whose business it is to plunge for the pearl-fishes live simply on fishes and dates. Maçoudi then describes the way in which they plunge into the sea for fishes.

As said above, Maçoudi speaks of the Persian Gulf as forming a part of the Abyssinian Sea. Sir John Malcolm suggests the reason why it is so. He says: "The

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[1] *Vide* this treatise in the Ganj-i-Shâyagân by Dastur Peshotan Byramjee Sanjana, para. I. *Vide* my paper "Fridousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., vol. XIX, pp. 224-236), *Vide* my "Asiatic papers," pp. 85-94.

[2] Maçoudi (chap. 8) par Barbier de Meynard, Tome I., p. 230.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 239. C'est dans cette île quell'on pêche les perles connues sous le nom de *Kháreki*."

[4] *Ibid.* p. 242. [5] *Ibid* p. 328.

Gulf of Persia has several pearl fisheries, particularly that near the island of Bahrein: but one can hardly consider these as belonging to Persia; for though its monarchs have always claimed the sovereignty of this sea, they have never had a navy to contend with the Arabian rulers of the opposite shore.[1]"

Chardin in his book of travels in Persia,[2] while referring to the fisheries of the Persian Gulf, says that *lueur*, the French word for 'light, glimmer,' comes from *loulou* (لولو) the Persian word for 'pearl,' because the Persian pearls are very brilliant. He also adds that the word *marguerite* used by the French and other European nations for a kind of pearl is another form of the Persian word *murvârid* (مروارید). This Persian word comes from the Pahlavi word *murvârid* referred to above.

Nowadays we often speak of the enormous drain of wealth from the East by the West. From Pliny, as quoted by our author, we learn that, in old times, the West had to make a similar complaint about the East. Pliny says: "At the lowest estimate India and the seas and that peninsula (Arabia) take from our Empire annually 100,000,000 sesterces. So much do our luxury and our women cost us." A Grecian sesterce was worth about 2 pence sterling. So, calculating at the present rate of exchange, the drain from Greece towards India and other countries of the East came to about Rs. 1,24,99,999.

Tertullian, as quoted by Mr. Quackenbos, says that the pearl is nothing but a hard and round wart (*tumor*) of the shell. This means, that it is the result of a kind of disease. The use of the modern Persian word for pearl *viz.*, *murvârid* (مروارد) seems to point to the same inference. The word *murvârid* is used for a disease of the eye similar to the cataract. This use of the word shows, that the formation of the pearl was considered by the Persians also to be a kind of disease in the pearl-fish *Motiyo* (મોતીઓ) the Gujarati word for cataract, which is another form of *moti* (મોતી) *i.e.*, pearl, points to the same direction. The word pearl in English also is similarly used at times for a cataract. All these words of different languages for a pearl point to the fact that the formation of the pearl in the pearl-fishes was supposed to be due to a diseased secretion.

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[1] History of Persia 2nd Edition (1829), Vol. II, p. 370.

[2] Voyage en Perse Tome III p. 31.

Ervad Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, in his paper on "Neriosengh's Sanskrit version of the Avestan Afringân-i-Dahman and Afrin-i-Khshathryân rendered into English" presents, as it were, a chip of work from his Irânian workshop of Sanskrit translations. It is for the first time in the history of the Parsees, that some well-meaning members of the community have arranged, with the help of public subscriptions, to send a student from here, to be turned into an efficient scholar within the portals of a foreign University. It is nearly 3 years since Mr. Dhalla is studying under Prof. Jackson of America. Prof. Jackson has introduced, to the Parsee public, through this volume, a brilliant galaxy of zealous pupils, and among these, one is Mr. Dhalla, to whom the community looks with an expectant eye, hoping, that, in time to come, he may throw further light on its old literature, religion, and history. I welcome with pleasure the papers of all the pupils of Prof. Jackson whose own paper I have noticed above.

The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet have reason to be glad, that the Sanskrit texts of the Parsee writings which they are getting prepared, at the able hands of Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, have so soon begun to be utilized by scholars like Ervad Dhalla, whose learned paper gives an excellent idea of what his future work in the field of Irânian literature would be.

Mr. Frachtenberg, in his paper entitled, "Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avesta" groups together "all the Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words" in the Avesta, which, as he says, show "the peculiar attitude which the holy scriptures of the lofty religion of Zarathushtra take towards the creatures of Ahura-Mazda on one side, and Angra-Mainyu on the other." Mr. Frachtenberg thinks that "the distinction was not primarily due to religious influences, but was caused originally by a desire to distinguish between man and animal, and that it received in course of time a religious colouring." From what we see in the style of conversation among the modern Parsees, we may infer, that the distinction of the form of language arose with the distinction of the persons addressed, or of the persons for whom the statements were made. For example, take the very first verb given by Mr. Frachtenberg in his list of parallel verbs, *viz.* 'to go'. Though the word *javun* (જવું) is the ordinary verb for 'to go,' yet in conversation with men of position, superiors or elders, the verb which is considered auspicious and which is often used is *sidharvun* (સીધારવું). Similar parallel words for 'to come' are *âvvun* (આવવું) and padhârvun (પધારવું), and for 'to die' are *marvun* (મરવું) and *gujarvun* (ગુજરવું).

In one place Mr. Frachtenberg speaks of what he calls the Ormazdian word as "the euphemistic expression." I think that euphemism has a good deal to do with this subject. This euphemistic way of expression is common, even now, among the Parsees, and it is carried to a great extreme especially by the ladies. Carried away with that euphemistic idea, it is a fashion to say quite the opposite of what is meant. For example, if one were to ask from a Parsee lady of the old type some money, and if she had none, she would not say "I have no money" (મારી પાસે પૈસા નથી), but she would say quite the contrary, "I have too much money" (મારી પાસે પૈસા ઘણા ઘણા છે). Those who are habituated to hear these expressions understand this easily. To say, that she has no money would be inauspicious or may forbode poverty. So quite the opposite expression is used. Take another example: if the lamp is extinguished she would not say "The lamp is extinguished" (દીવો બુજાઈ ગયો છે), but would say quite the contrary, *viz.*, "the lamp has increased in light" (દીવો વધતો થયો છે). Lamp or light symbolizes life, prosperity, health, etc. Again Lamp (દીવો) symbolizes progeny. So it would be inauspicious to say "it is extinguished." Again, if, by the absence of the members of the family, the house looks empty, a Parsee lady would not say "the house looks empty" (ઘેર ખાલી ખાલી લાગે છે), but would say the contrary, "the house looks full" (ઘર ભર્યું ભર્યું લાગે છે). They say, that it was this euphemistic idea that made the ancient Greeks change the name of the Black Sea, from Axenes (inhospitable) to Euxine (hospitable), though it was, as signified by its present name (Black Sea), very stormy and tempestuous.

Mon. Cl. Huart, in his paper entitled "Nouveax Quatrains de Bâbâ Ṭâhir 'Uryân," continues his favourite study of the quatrains of Bâbâ Ṭâhir begun before 1886.[1] Bâbâ Ṭâhir lived in the 11th century after Christ and he was one of the four quatrain-writers of the early Seljuq period referred to by Mr. Brown in his Literary History of Persia.[2] As the name of Fitzgerald has been connected with the name of Umar Khayyâm, the first of these four writers, so, the name of Mon. Huart is, to a certain extent, connected with this second of the four writers. It was long after the publication of Fitzgerald's translation of Umar Khayyâm that the literary world, or rather the English-reading public, passed through a craze or cult of Umar Khayyâm.

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1 Journal Asiatique Huitième Série, Tome VI, pp. 503-547.

2 A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sadi, Vol, II., p. 246.

Mon. Huart introduced Bâbâ Ṭâhir to the readers of Persian literature about 22 years ago. The first fruits of his study of the quatrains of Bâbâ Ṭâhir, appeared in the Journal Asiatique of 1885, where he has translated 59 quatrains, and I am glad that he has kindly done this volume the honour of publishing the result of his further studies in the same direction. He translates 25 more quatrains in this paper.

Mr. Brown calls Bâbâ Ṭâhir, the Burns of Persia, and says that his popularity is "due in large measure to the simplicity of his thoughts, the nearness of the dialect in which he writes to standard Persian, the easy and melodious flow of his words, and their single uniform metre." [1] Mr. Brown also calls him "the dialect-poet" [2] because he has written in what is called "the dialect of Hamadân" or "the Luri dialect" [3] Mon. Huart speaks of this dialect in this paper as "Pehlavi-musulman." By "Pehlavi-musulman," Mon. Huart understands several Persian dialects spoken in remote and mountainous places in Persia.[4] These dialects are supposed to have descended from the Avesta. Professor Darmesteter called the (Zend) Avesta, the language of Media [5], when most of the German scholars called it "the language of Bactria." So Mon. Huart, who agrees with his compatriot, also calls these dialects that are supposed to have descended from the Avesta, "Modern-Median."

Parsee students of Persian very often hear their Irâni co-religionists from Persia speak a language which they call Deri, and which it is not possible for them to understand. This Deri also seems to be one of the dialects above referred to and it is spoken round about Yezd. Some of the peculiarities of their dialect are observed in the language of Bâbâ Ṭâhir's quatrains. For example we hear our co-religionists fresh from Persia always speak û for â in many Persian words. They speak *mihrbûn* (kind) for our ordinary Persian word *Mihrbân* (مهربان)[6].

Those of my readers, who do not understand French and who are desirous to know something of the language of the quatrains of Bâbâ Ṭâhir, may, with advantage look into Mr. Brown's Literary History of Persia wherein three of his quatrains are translated with notes.[7]

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1 A Literary History of Persia (Vol. I.) from the earliest times until Firdawsi, p. 83.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 246.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 83.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
5 "Le Zend est la langue de la Médie," Études Iraniennes, p. 10.
6 *Vide* the quatrain No 1. given by Mr. Brown.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 84. Mr. Framroze S. Doctor has recently translated into English 30 of these quatrains in the "East and West" of January 1908 (Vol. VII., No. 75, pp. 92-98).

Mon. Huart in his paper in the Journal Asiatique of 1885, above referred to, tries to justify the name Palhavi-musulman, which he gives to the language of Bâbâ Ṭahir. For this justification and for the peculiarities of the language above referred to, the reader can very fruitfully consult that paper.

The Homa Tree and the Ten Kar-fish of the Bundahishn, and The Trees of Knowledge and Life and the Serpent of the Bible : A Comparison.

BY

MR. SORABJI NOWROJI KANGA, B.A.

Bundahishn (Chap. XVIII.) contains the following short account of the Gokard (Homa) tree and the ten Kar-fish :— "1. On the nature of the tree they call Gokard, it says in revelation, that it was the first day when the tree they call Gokard grew in the deep mud within the wide-formed ocean ; and it is necessary as a producer of the renovation of the universe, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hom. 3. And for keeping away that lizard Auharmazd has created there ten Kar-fish which, at all times, continually circle around the Hom, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed, that is, no food is necessary for them ; and till the renovation of the universe they remain in contention. 5. There are places where that fish is written of as 'the Ariz of the water' ; as it says the greatest of the creatures of Auharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those proceeding from the evil spirit is that lizard ; with the jaws of their bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both spirits has entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vas of Pankasadvaran. 6. This, too, is said that those fish are so serpent-like in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlisn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing . . . . . 9. The tree of

many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say it is the proper curing, some the energetic curing, some the all-curing." [1]

In the above quotation the following points are to be noted:—

(*a*) Firstly, the Gokard tree grew in that wide-formed ocean on the "first day" of the creation, and it will be necessary as a renovator of the universe, and producer of its immortality.

(*b*) Secondly, this chapter reminds us of Yasnas XXX. and XLV., and clearly depicts, as will be seen later on, the dualism or the opposition between the two spirits or forces, as it obtains in this world. The ten Kar-fish continually circling around the Hom, created by Auharmazd, which will be likened unto the creative Spiral, represent the good constructive force, while the lizard, created by the evil spirit, represents its negative, *i.e.*, the evil or disintegrating force. Again, it is said that nothing is exempt from the operation of these two opposing forces, as "with the jaws of their bodies they snap in two whatever of the creatures of *both* spirits has entered between them," and further that "till the renovation of the universe these two remain in contention," *i.e.*, till "the old order changeth giving place to new."

(*c*) The third point to be noted is the mention of the serpent-like form of those fish, which taken with the Hom tree and the tree of many seeds will enable us to compare them with the Biblical serpent and the trees of knowledge and life in the garden of Eden.

(*d*) Finally, the fact that the Kar-fish and the lizard are spiritually fed, and that no food is necessary for them, proves that they are no material creatures, but that they are introduced merely to represent the dualism or the "law of polarity" that prevails in this world.

Tree Worship.

Tree worship has formed an important part of the religion of almost every nation of antiquity. In the childhood of mankind, "the tree was regarded as the home, haunt or embodiment of a spiritual essence, capable of more or less independent life and activity, and able to detach itself from its material habitat and to appear in human or in animal form. This belief has left innumerable traces in ancient art and literature, has largely shaped the usages and legends of the peasantry, and

[1] West's Translation.

impressed its influence on the ritual of almost all the primitive religions of mankind." [1]

The World Tree.

One of the many interesting points in connection with tree myths is the conception of the cosmogonic or world tree supporting the universe, which mention is made in the writings of the ancient Scandinavians, the ancient Chaldæans, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Hindus, the Aryan races of northern Europe, the Chinese and the Japanese, and of which the Scandinavian Yggdrasil is the most familiar example.

Mr. Williamson in his "The Great Law: A Study of Religious Origins," states that according to the Scandinavian mythology, "On mount Asgard grew the tree Yggdrasil, whose roots are watered by the well of life, over which the Norns kept watch . . . . Its limbs spread over all the world, and three roots of it stretch across the heaven and hold it up."

This idea of a world tree supporting the universe carried with it, more particularly in the case of the Indian, Persian and Biblical traditions, the more refined and philosophical idea of the tree of life and of knowledge.

"From the whirlpool of the deep," says Vishnu Purana, Book I, chap. I., "sprang the celestial Parijata tree. When transplanted on earth by Krishna, its powers were still miraculous, for all . . who approached . . recalled the events of their previous births." The Bhagvad Gita, chap. XV., 1-4, has the following: "Men say that the sacred fig-tree (Aswattha) that has its roots above and its branches downwards is eternal: its leaves are metrical hymns: he who knows it knows the Vedas. Down on high its branches are extended, ... its buddings are the objects of the senses; and downwards its roots are drawn—the bonds of action in the world of men. Here below its form cannot be known, nor its end, nor its beginning, nor its whole nature or constitution."

This idea of a world tree is, in some writings, closely connected with that of a world-mountain; in others, with that of a wide-formed ocean, where the tree is supposed to have grown. There is, moreover, another version which locates, not indeed the world tree, but the trees of knowledge and life, in the midst of a garden.

[1] The Sacred Tree, by Mrs. J. H. Philpot.

The difference in these versions as regards the locality of the tree, while the essential features regarding the tree itself are the same in all, coupled with some other considerations, tends to show that these world-mountains or wide formed oceans or gardens are not to be considered as the ordinary objects that we see on the surface of this earth. This idea gains additional strength from what we have said in the beginning, that the ten Kar-fish which guard the Hom tree in the midst of the wide-formed ocean and the lizard are fed spiritually, that is, no food is necessary for them, and that consequently they are no material objects. In fact, the whole myth is symbolical of an ethical idea and has nothing material about it. The Hindu saw in the tree an emblem of knowledge, the Persian thought of it as the tree of immortality, while the Hebrew, filled with the idea of man's frailty, made it the tree of temptation.

In all these various conceptions we come across a central idea, which places a tree at the root of all philosophy and refers all phenoména to the existence of a central tree, serviceable to man here or hereafter.

But although we have said that in the myth of the Homa and the Kar-fish, the tree is not a material tree, but can at best be supposed to be a celestial tree, of which, however, we can form no idea, still its earthly counterpart, the Homa or Soma plant, has played and still plays an important part in the rituals of both, the Parsis and the Hindus; and many of the qualities which belonged to the celestial have been transferred to the earthly Homa or Soma.

Now, before we come to the subject proper of our discourse, we will cite a few more instances where mention is made of Homa. We find from para. 9 of chap. XVIII. of the Bundahishn, quoted in the beginning, that besides the Gokard or Homa tree there also grew in the midst of the wide-formed ocean another tree, called the tree of many seeds. This latter is again mentioned in chap. IX. of the same book. "The tree of all germs grew up in the wide-formed ocean . . . . and near to that tree of all germs the Gokard tree was produced for keeping away deformed decrepitude, and the full perfection of the world arose therefrom." Chap. XXIV. speaks of the "Gokard tree with which they restore the dead," and Chapter XXVII. states that "near to that tree the white Hom, the healing and undefiled, has grown, at the source of the water Ardvisura; every one that eats it becomes immortal, and they call it the Gokard

tree, as it is said that Hom is expelling death ; also in the renovation of the universe they prepare its immortality therefrom ; and it is the chief of plants."

The Comparison.

We will now proceed with our subject by a comparison of the two trees and the ten Kar-fish of the Bundahishn with the two trees and the serpent in the garden of Eden.* We will first try to find out the meaning of the Biblical serpent and the trees of knowledge and life.

The Biblical Account.

As we know from the Old Testament, the serpent tempted Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. As soon as Adam and Eve partook of that fruit, they came to know that they were naked, while before that they were not aware of that fact and consequently not ashamed of it. The meaning seems to be that before partaking of that fruit they were not in a position to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong, and consequently were in a state where no mental progress was possible for them. But the eating of that fruit endowed them, *i.e.*, mankind in general, with the potentiality for further progress, so that in the end they could rightly put forth their hand and pluck of the tree of life as well.

Another point to be noted in the above Biblical account is that when Adam was placed in the garden of Eden, God had warned him not to eat of the tree of knowledge, as otherwise, as soon as he touched it, he was sure to die. But when both Adam and Eve partook of that fruit, they did not die at all. This seeming contradiction has, then, to be explained. But the explanation is very easy. It is not the ordinary death, that is spoken of here. This death is the freedom from the bondage of ignorance and 'unthinking state,' in which they were, and would have remained for ever, but for the serpent tempting them to eat of the fruit of knowledge. This kind of death reminds us of the second birth spoken of in St. John III. of the New Testament, where it is said: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

The meaning is the same. It is the passage from the state of ignorance and inertia to that of knowledge and activity, leading in the end to the tree of

life, or to that state of perfection and immortality which is spoken of in the Bundahishn.

The Story of the Bundahishn.

Exactly a similar story is told in the Bundahishn, chapters I. and II., from which the above Biblical account, which is very involved, seems to have been copied. Chapter I. says that "Auharmazd produced spiritually the creatures . . . . and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies."

Then according to chapter II., Auharmazd "deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) and guardian spirits (Fravahars) of men, and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when I shall present you to the world, that you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I shall have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, and you will be wholly immortal, undecaying and undisturbed, or that, it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer.' Thereupon the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world . . . . . and their becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting." According to this account, mankind, who were in the beginning in "an unthinking state," by making their own choice as to good and evil, in other words, by partaking of the fruit of knowledge, were thus, in a way, and for the time being, driven out of the garden of Eden, so that in the end they may eat of the tree of life as well and "become again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect and immortal in the future existence, for ever and everlasting."

The Meaning of the Serpent Symbolism.

Mr. Williamson in "The Great Law: A study of Religious Origins," states that "the serpent symbolism represents what we may call the Creative Spiral, which shows the mode of motion of the energy present in every atom of matter . . . . This spiral must be regarded as typifying the force that makes for evolution . . . It is the force impelling towards evolution that urges mankind to eat of the tree

of knowledge. It will thus be seen that the serpent of Genesis is not a power of evil but an agency for good."

Now, before we see how the serpent symbolism or the spiral came to be regarded as the creative spiral, we will try to see if we can find in the myth of the Homa tree and the ten Kar-fish anything resembling the spiral of the Old Testament.

The Spiral in the Bundahishn.

It is better again to quote the words of the Bundahishn. "And for keeping away the lizard Auharmazd has created there ten Kar-fish which, at all times *continually circle* around the Hom, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard." Imagine a tree or a pole or a stick standing erect on its end and the ten Kar-fish continually circling around it, continually, that is, without a break, and we at once see that the form thus made resembles that of a screw or a spiral.

The Figure 10.

But it may be asked why the fish should be ten in number and not more or less! Theosophical literature furnishes us with a probable explanation. It is there said that the "Logos who stands behind our solar system, and from whose outbreathed energy in the sun's rays we get our daily life, has, as His emblem, the circle intersected by the perpendicular straight line. When analysed, this symbol resolves itself into the pillar and the circle—in other words, the number **10**. . . . Thus the number **10** is rightly called the perfect number."

The Lemniscate or the Complicated Spiral.

We have said that the ten Kar-fish continually circling around the Hom present the figure of an ordinary spiral. There is, however, another and more complicated spiral, technically known as the Lemniscate, and which is identical with the figure represented by the interlaced serpents on the caduceus of Hermes. And it is not impossible that in the account of the Bundahishn, the more complicated spiral is meant to be represented. This we can imagine by the ten Kar-fish still continually circling around the Hom, but in opposite ways and in pairs, instead of singly as in the case of an ordinary spiral.

The Reason why these Spirals are called the *Creative* Spirals.

Sir W. Crookes in his "Genesis of the Elements" says: "We believe that primitive matter was formed by the act of a generative force, throwing off at intervals of time, atoms endowed with varying quantities of primitive forms of energy. If we may hazard any conjecture as to the source of energy embodied in a chemical atom, we may, I think, premise that the heat radiations propagated outwards through the ether, from the ponderable matter of the universe, are transformed at the confines of the universe into the primary—the essential—motions of chemical atoms, which the instant they are formed gravitate inwards, and thus restore to the universe the energy which otherwise would be lost to it through radiant heat." This essential motion appears to be the result of "three very simple simultaneous motions." The resultant figure of these three simultaneous motions would then appear to us, says Mr Williamson, as the figure 8 in the space of three dimensions.

Thus the entwined serpents—the lemniscate or figure 8—is said to represent the mode of motion of the energy which created and which upholds in manifestation this physical universe.

It will thus be seen that the lemniscate or the more complicated spiral formed by the Kar-fish continually circling around the Hom presents the appearence of the figure 8 and can thus be taken to mean the *creative* spiral. So far then the comparison stands good between the Hom and the Kar-fish of the Bundahishn and the serpent symbolism of the Old Testament. In both accounts we come across two trees, of which one, the Gokard or the Hom tree, can be easily identified as the tree of life while the other, the tree of many seeds, may be presumed to represent the tree of knowledge.

The Dualism in the Bundahishn.

We can now see, that in the Bundahishn account under consideration, two forces are spoken of, one the constructive force represented by the Tree and the Kar-fish, and the other the destructive or disintegrating force represented by "the lizard created by the evil spirit as an opponent, so that it may injure the Hom." We thus find in this account, a description of that peculiar dualistic aspect which the world presents

to us wherever we turn our eyes, and of which the earliest mention is made in the Gâthâs of Zarathushtra.

Reminding us of this dualism, which is the fundamental characteristic of evolution, Zarathushtra says, in Yasna XXX.: " 3. Thus are the primeval spirits, who, as a pair (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old). (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting, choose aright. (Choose ye) not (as) the evil-doers. 4. (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make life, and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (hell), the worst life, for the holy (heaven), the best mental state . . . . ". And in Yasna XLV., 2, the prophet again declares: " Yea, I will declare the world's first two spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful: neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls are at one."[1]

Of these two, the one force is the constructive force that makes for good, while the other is its negative, which we may call the destructive or disintegrating force, and which produces the negation of good, *i.e.*, evil. There are many ideas connected with this doctrine of dualism as found in the Gâthâs, but this is not the place to enter into them.[2]

The author of the Bundahishn, following the Gâthâs, has, in his own way and by means of a symbolism, tried to explain to us the same fact of dualism or the opposition between the two opposing forces. But although the lizard created by the evil spirit clearly represented the destructive force, it was not clear whether the Hom tree and the ten Kar-fish could be taken to represent the force that makes for good, and was the constructive force. And it was our object to show that the latter did represent the constructive force, and this we have done by a comparison of it with the Biblical serpent and the trees.

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[1] Mill's Translation.

[2] See my article "Ahuramazda and His Two Minos" in the Zartoshti, for the month of Tir, 1273 Yazdejardi, 1904 A. D.

But while making this comparison it must be borne in mind that in this Biblical account we do not come across the dualism, in the proper sense of the term, that we find mentioned in the Gâthâs.

Dualism or The Law of Polarity.

"The existence of evil in this world is as palpable a fact as the existence of good . . . . If the existence of good proves a good creator, how can we escape the inference that the existence of evil proves an evil one? The only escape I can find from this dilemma," says Mr. S. Laing in "A Modern Zoroastrian," "is to accept existing facts and not evade them. It is a fact that polarity is the law of existence . . . . Beyond it is the Great Unknown or unknowable, in presence of which . . . . we may 'faintly trust the larger hope' that duality may somehow ultimately be merged in unity, evil in good, and 'every winter turn to spring.'" He goes on to say that "the great advantage of this form of religious hypothesis, which for want of a better name I call Zoroastrianism, is that . . . . there is the still greater advantage that we can devote ourselves with a whole heart and sincere mind to the worship of the good principle, without paltering with our moral nature by professing to love and adore a Being who is the author of all the evil and misery in the world as well as the good."

Although we may not agree with all the ideas of Mr. Laing on the Law of Polarity as he finds it in Zoroastrianism, it is clear that he is right when he says that Zoroastrianism teaches of a "duality which may somehow ultimately be merged into unity, evil in good, and 'every winter turn to spring.'" And Caird in his "Evolution of Religion," Vol. II., p. 288, seems to echo the same Gâthic idea, when he says that "we cannot believe in the substantiality of evil, but must hold that there is a point of view from which it disappears, or appears only as an instrument, or transitory stage to higher good."

According to the Gâthâs, the renovation of the world will be brought about by the combined action of both the forces, the constructive as well as the disintegrating. This is plain from the passage already quoted: "(Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make life, and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered) . . . . . " Yasna XXX., 4.

And although Christianity is not a religion without its dualistic aspect, still the same stress is not there laid on the power of evil which tends to the disintegration of things, as in Zoroastrianism. We mean to say that dualism is not so prominently brought out in the Christian religion as in Zoroastrianism. And hence it is that we find the following statement made by the authors of the "Unseen Universe." "It is a well-known fact that John Stewart Mill would have regarded the claims of Christianity with more favour, had its character been more Manichæan, that is, had the power of evil been assigned a position much more equal to that of good" in the management of the universe.

Concluding Remarks.

We have not much to say. By a comparison of the Kar-fish and the Hom Tree of the Bundahishn with the serpent and the trees of knowledge and life of the Old Testament, we have come to the conclusion that the Kar-fish circling round the tree represents the constructive force and that the lizard represents its negative, the destructive or disintegrating force, and also that these two opposing forces "remain in contention, till the renovation of the universe." And we may take it for granted that after that event their opposition will be turned into unison, the duality will merge into unity, and 'every winter will turn to spring.'

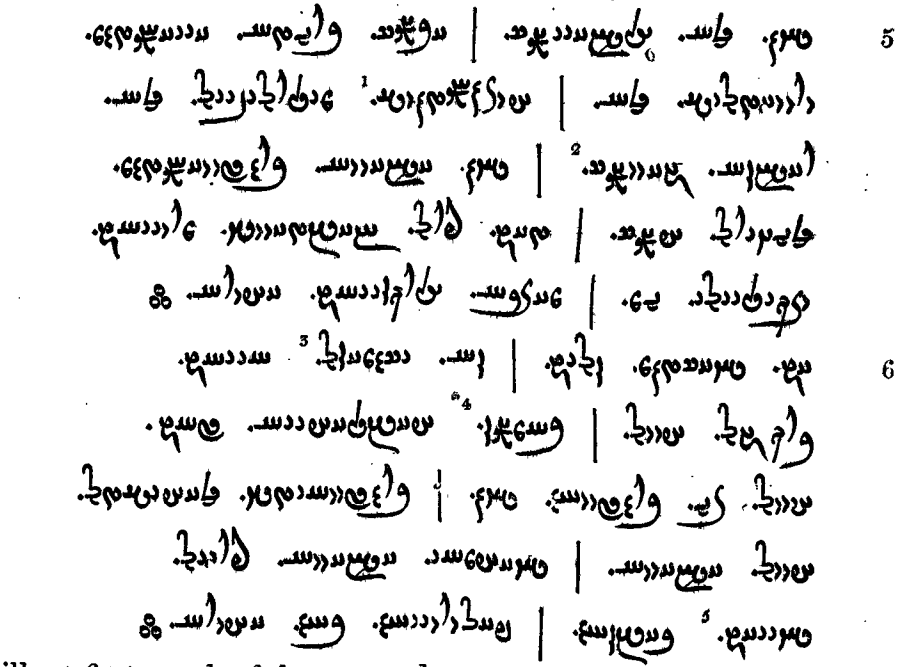
Yasna XLVI, §§ 5-6.

BY

MR. KHODABAX EDALJI PUNEGAR, B.A.

Speaking generally, the interpretation of a strophe of the Gâthâs offers, as is well known to the student of Avestic studies, greater difficulty than that of any other part of the Avestic literature. An attempt has been made in this paper to explain the fifth and sixth strophes of the last *Hâ* of the Ushtavaiti Gâthâ, known from its first words as the "*Kãm nēmôi zãm.*"

The Avestic text of the strophes under survey is as follows :—



I will, at first, speak of the text and say why I adopt a particular reading.

[1] G., Wd., Sp. ·ꬹꬺ°· [2] G. ·ꬱꬺꬹ· [3] G. ·ꬹꬲ°; Wd., Sp. ·ꬹꬲꬱꬱ·

[4] Sp. ·ꬱꬺ°· [5] G., Sp. ·ꬱꬺꬺꬺ·

The Text examined.

In strophe 5, line 2, the word accepted above in the text is 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 in place of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 followed by Geldner, Westergaard and Spiegel. These two forms differ in point of grammar, the first being in the genitive singular and the second in the nominative singular. Of the twenty-one MSS. collated by Geldner, eighteen have got the form followed by him, whereas in three (Jm1, L13, S 2) stands the form taken above in the text. The interpretation, from our stand-point, requires the word in the genitive, and so long as this changed form does not disturb the metre of the line, we are justified in taking it in our text. Besides, the syntactical relation of the words in this line, to a great extent, necessitates the word to be in the genitive, as we have taken it: the two 𐬀𐬵 and 𐬀𐬵 partly separate and partly unite, as is the case with *either* and *or* in the English language, the two words 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎, which must hence both stand in the same case, *viz.*, in the genitive, as 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 stands in that case in all the MSS.

In the third line of the same strophe stands the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬐 which has got a variant 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬐 in Geldner and in seven other MSS. The form 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬐 is to be found only in two MSS., and this we have taken in the text with a view not to mar the metre of the line without it. In the Ushtavaiti Gâthâ, the Sanskrit *Trishtubh* metre is followed with the difference that its metre exceeds the Sanskrit metre by one line. This metre consists of four lines of eleven syllables each with the cæsura after the fourth syllable in each line. To allow the cæsura to come after the fourth syllable in the present line, we require the word in question to be of two syllables as 𐬵𐬀𐬎|𐬎𐬀𐬐 instead of 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬐 as in Geldner, which being monosyllabic unnecessarily shortens the first part of the line. Besides these two forms, a third variant occurs as 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬎𐬀𐬐 in no fewer than twelve MSS. This harmonizes with the form in the text, so far as the sense and metre are concerned.

Similarly, in the first line of the sixth strophe, the metrical requirements necessitate the insertion of an 𐬀 in the word 𐬎𐬁𐬵𐬌 found in Geldner. Here, too, Geldner's choice falls short of one syllable in completing the second part of the line, and hence

does the form 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 seem proper here in lieu of Geldner's 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 which is found in nine MSS., as opposed to five containing the form in the text above and four having 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 followed by Westergaard and Spiegel.

The word 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙 in the third line is to be met with in six MSS. only, whereas its variant 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬙 followed by Spiegel is to be found in as many as twelve MSS. But neither of these solves the difficulty of the metre of this line for which we shall speak later on.

In the last line Geldner and Spiegel have got 𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙 for our 𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙 to be found in three MSS. By lengthening the pronunciation of the word 𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙 as *i-yat* into two syllables, instead of the monosyllabic *yat*, we improve the first part of the line, which hereupon consists of four syllables and, moreover, the cæsura comes in its proper place. All this seems to be impossible if Geldner and Spiegel's form is followed, as therein we cannot lengthen the sound of the first two letters.

Metre.

As we have already seen, the metre of the strophes consists of five lines of eleven syllables each, the cæsura coming after the fourth syllable in each line. A regular line must, consequently, have two divisions of four and seven syllables respectively and the cæsura must necessarily come after a finished word and not in the middle of a word. Looking from this standpoint, the whole of the fifth strophe, as it stands above, presents a regular metrical aspect. To make the first line of section sixth equally regular, as we have seen above, we have to take the four-syllabic 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 instead of the tri-syllabic 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙 adopted by Geldner. The third line is quite regular in itself, but the fourth and the fifth will not be deemed so at first sight. The second part of the fourth line appears to have six instead of seven syllables; but the last word requires it to be pronounced as though it were made up of two syllables as *fri-yô* and not as the monosyllabic *fryô*. Similarly by pronouncing the first word as *i-yat* we make the first part quite regular of four syllables.

But a greater difficulty is presented by the second line of this strophe. As the line stands, it may appear to consist of nine syllables only. Under this circum-

stance, let us first determine the place of the cæsura. It must, as said above, come after a finished word, and so, it should be located after 𐬵𐬀𐬎. This will, thereupon, leave the first part of three syllables only and the second of six. But 𐬵𐬀𐬎, like the words 𐬵𐬀𐬌 and 𐬱𐬀𐬎 which occur a little below, can be pronounced as a dissyllable, *viz.*, as though it were 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *hu-vô*. Similarly, by laying an additional stress of a distinct syllable on the 𐬱 of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬎, we render the word four syllabic instead of tri-syllabic. As an alternative for the last explanation, it may be suggested that the word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬎 may have been a combination of a later date for the original 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬎, in which case the second part shall properly consist of seven syllables.

Interpretation.

Thus, after first removing all difficulties pertaining to the text, we enter now the sphere of interpretation. We shall here touch upon a few typical words only. The word 𐬨𐬌𐬎 is an aorist present participle nom. sing. with two objects 𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬨 and 𐬵𐬁𐬙𐬌𐬙𐬀. As is the case elsewhere in the Gâthâs, 𐬨𐬌𐬎 as a participle serves also the purpose of a verb. The word 𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬨 is qualified by the instrumental 𐬨𐬁𐬌, and the word 𐬵𐬁𐬙𐬌𐬙𐬀 from 𐬙𐬀 "promise," "contract," "right," "privilege," is in its turn qualified by the genitives 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 and 𐬱𐬌𐬰𐬌𐬎𐬀.

The word 𐬨𐬁𐬌 is easy to be derived from 𐬁𐬎 (Sk. 𐬁), to tear, with the meaning "tearing," "oppression," or "hurt." But, as regards the word 𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌, a twofold interpretation is possible. Firstly, the word can be referred to 𐬵𐬀, "friend." But the second derivation seems more appropriate. In the Avesta language, as in Sanskrit, 𐬵 means "broad," "unstraitened," "unrestrained." To this the abstract suffix 𐬌 is added, the complete form being 𐬵𐬀, 𐬵𐬁, 𐬵𐬌𐬌, 𐬵𐬌. Thus the word would mean "freedom, liberty, etc.," and this meaning would be found, later on, appropriate to the context.

The word 𐬱𐬌𐬰𐬌𐬎𐬀 is commonly derived from the rt. 𐬰𐬌, "to know," and the meaning attached to it is something akin to "knowledge." But the interpretation

I attach to this word is one from a "city," or "town." That the word 𐬌𐬱𐬀 conveys this meaning in Avesta cannot be doubted; but when a qualifying particle 𐬌𐬎 is attached thereto, with a view to ascribe a proper shade of meaning to it, we interpret the word to mean "of good citizenship."

The word 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 comes from 𐬀𐬵, 𐬀𐬌, Sk. स्व, "self," and so it means "pertaining to one's own self." Thus, it conveys a different sense in the case when the word is applied to an individual and when to a king. In the former case, the word 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 means "a relative" or "a kinsman," and in the latter instance it means a "tributary," "dependent" or "subject" king.

The phrase 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬀 in § 6 stands in opposition to 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀 in the opening line of § 5. In the preceding section, the man is depicted as "coming with oppression," whereas in the succeeding one he is mentioned as one who "comes a desiring or wishing man," meaning thereby "as a well-wisher." The word 𐬨𐬀𐬎 in the second line of § 6 stands in the aorist third person singular from the root 𐬨𐬀𐬎, 𐬨𐬎, Sk. गम्, to go.

The third and the fourth line of § 6 contain a maxim almost tantamount to the English "a man is known by the company he keeps," which is here rather worded in general terms. The maxim in the third line, in an inverted sense, applies to the opening lines of § 5 and that in the fourth line to the first two lines of § 6.

Now I attempt to give my translation of the two sections before us.

§ 5.

Whoso, though capable[1], is-a-non-giver[2] to-the-comer[3] with-oppression[4] (of) the promises[5], either of-freedom or of-good-citizenship[6] (is) living righteously, who is discerning the wicked from-the-pious; that[7], he should-speak forth unto-(his)-relatives[8], (since) this, O Ahura Mazda! one should-crush in-the-rising.[9]

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1 Alternative, "ruling, a ruler."
2 In the verbal sense "does not give."
3 "One who comes."
4 *i. e.*, with hostile feelings.
5 Privileges.
6 *i. e.*, rights of a full-blown citizen.
7 *Viz.*, the information of one coming with inimical feelings.
8 Alternative, "subject kings."
9 *i. e.*, before he becomes aggressive; *cf.* "nip in the bud."

§ 6.

And whoso–to–thee[1] does not approach as–a–well–wishing man,[2] verily goes himself to–the–creatures of–the–Druja. Indeed, he (is) wicked who (is) best for–the–wicked; he (is) holy to–whom a pious (–man) (is) a friend: which primeval laws[3] Thou fixedest, O Ahura!

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[1] Taking ·ꬱ· as ·ꬱꬲꬹ·

[2] Alternative "who does not come to him (*viz.*) a desiring man (an aspirant)," but strict grammar does not permit this, which may be however correct on the supposition that whereas in the first strophe we are enjoined not to give freedom to the adverse-minded man, in the second strophe, on the other hand, we are enjoined not to refrain from giving assistance to the aspirant.

[3] Adages.

The Original Abode of the Kayaniâns

BY

ERVAD SHERIARJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA.

Scholars of Avesta and Pahlavi and readers of the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdusi must be familiar with the prowesses of the Kayânians in the ancient Irânian literature. The question naturally arises in our minds why the Kayânians were so powerful warriors, valiant conquerors, and wise rulers of the world.

It is said in the Shâh-nâmeh that after an anarchy brought upon the Irânian provinces by Turânians, it was very difficult for Zâl, the father of Rustam, to restore order and re-establish reign in the country. He, therefore, went to Mount Albûrz where Kôbâd was living, and persuaded him to descend from his mountainous abode on the plains down and establish there a new dynasty. Kôbâd accepted his offer, and acting upon his advice laid the foundation of the Kayânian dynasty. Most of his successors turned out to be the famous Kings of Persia whose glorious names are still not forgotten.

The Persian word Kayâni is derived from the Avesta 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 *Kâvaya*, pertaining to the *Kavî* dynasty, an adjective from 𐬐𐬀𐬎 *Kavî*, which is the epithet of a certain dynasty of Kings of Irân. This Avesta word 𐬐𐬀𐬎 I take to be a dialectical contraction of 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌 *Kaofi*, one residing on mountains, from Avesta 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬋 *Kaofa*, Pahlavi کوف *Kôf*, Persian کوه, mountain.

If we reflect a little on the histories of different nations, we find that generally maritime people and people living on high lands were more powerful and valiant than the inhabitants of plains. Mountaineers have very often performed heroic deeds. Cyrus the Great, and Ardeshir Babekân were inhabitants of the rugged mountainous country of Pârsistân. They founded the illustrious dynasties of the Achæmenians and the Sâssânians. The Persian, the Afghân, and the Turk conquerors of India, from the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi down to the Great Baber, were most of

them from the mountainous countries. In more recent times, Shivaji and other Mahratta chiefs who overran all India and established several Mahratta kingdoms, were originally from the mountains of the Western Ghauts. Similarly it is probable that the Kayânians were the descendants of the mountaineers of the Âlbûrz, and as such they must have performed extraordinary deeds of valour and wisdom in prehistoric times, and perpetuated their names in the world.

It must be remembered that maritime peoples have excelled all other nations of the world. Consider the examples of the ancient Greeks and Romans, of the modern Britons, and last but not the least, of the Japanese. These nations have undoubtedly shown greater valour, strength, and power than any other nations of the world who were not sea-faring people. Though this fact is undeniable, still it must be said that the inhabitants of elevated places rank next to the maritime people in superiority of strength, valour, and courage.

The reason why the maritime nations and the people of elevated places are more powerful than the rest is not far to seek. On seas and on mountains, temptations to luxury and indolence are very few, as Nature compels them to lead a simple and active life.

Will not the moral to be derived from this fact of the Kayânians having been a hardy race, and of having consequently produced the great monarchs of Persia, be laid to heart by our co-religionists, who very often take pride in the Kayânian blue blood running through their veins? If they are wise enough, they must at once put a stop to the luxurious ways of living now appearing among them, and betake themselves to the simple habits of their Kayânian ancestors.

BOMBAY, 1*st May*, 1906.

India's Debt to Persia

BY

MR. H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S., (RETIRED).

The debt of India to Persia is a great one, and has been but scantily acknowledged. It is true that Persia began by borrowing from India, for it seems that Nushirvân obtained from India the "Book of Good Counsels" which was afterwards translated into Pahlavi, Arabic and Persian, and became celebrated as the "Book of Kalila and Dimnah," and as the "Lights of Canopus." But granting that this was so, the debt was afterwards largely overpaid. The first missionary of Islam to India was a Persian named Muīnud-din Chishti. He was a native of Sistan, and was educated in Khurasan in the vicinity of Nishapur. He came to India in the latter half of the twelfth century in advance of the Muhammedan armies and settled at Ajmere at a time when Rajah Pithaura, or Prithiraj, was still reigning there and at Delhi. He was spiritually descended from Ibrahim bin Adham, the king of Balkh, and who is the Adhem of D'Herbelot and the Abu Ben Adhem of Leigh Hunt's poem. Muīnud-din seems to have resided for many years at Ajmere, and to have preached the new faith with great success. He died at an advanced age in 1236, and his tomb at once became a place of pilgrimage. For many years and indeed as long as Akbar retained any vestiges of orthodoxy, Muīnud-din was his patron saint and his shrine was yearly visited by him. He even adopted his name into his battle-cry, which was Yā Muīn or "The Helper." Another Persian saint, and one who exercised great influence over Bengal, was Jalāl-ud-din of Tabriz. He came to Pandua in the Maldah district in the fourteenth century, and was greatly honoured by the kings of Bengal. But, like many other saints, he was of wandering habits and seems eventually to have taken up his abode in the Maldive islands where his tomb is still shown. Another Persian saint—Saiyid Ali of Hamadan, that is, the ancient Ecbatana, was instrumental in the conversion of Cashmere. His mosque now adorns Srinagar, and he is regarded as the patron saint of the valley. Many other saints of Persian

birth or origin took part in the work of converting India, and they did not confine themselves to upper India, but penetrated far into the Deccan. But if Persian Muhammedans were influential in India, the followers of the old Persian faith were also powerful agents in civilising the country. The Persian settlers in Gujrât—the forefathers of the modern Parsis—did the same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the blood of the Indian nations. When we think of what the Parsis have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think that there is good in religious persecutions, and that like Kingsley's "Wild North-Easter" they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world.

But for the assistance given to Humâyun by Shâh Tahmâsp, the Moghul dynasty would probably never have regained possession of India, and that country would have been the poorer by the absence of such magnificent princes as Akbar, Shâh Jehân and Aurangzeb. Even before Humâyun enjoyed the splendid hospitality of Tahmâsp, his father Bâbar had been indebted to Persian assistance for his short-lived conquest of Central Asia and had acknowledged himself as a vassal of Shâh Ismâil. According to some Persian authorities Bâbar did not behave well to his protectors and left them in the lurch at the battle of Ghajdivan. Afterwards this misconduct was urged by Tahmâsp's brother as a reason against showing hospitality to Humâyun, but he was overruled by Tahmâsp's own generous feelings, and by the sympathetic entreaties of his amiable sister. It was to Persia too that Bâbar and Humâyun were indebted for their most cherished wives, Bâbar's chief wife, Maham Begum, being related to Sultan Husain of Herat, and Humâyun's love-match having been made with Hamida Banu, the daughter of a Persian Maulvi and the descendant of the famous Saint Ahmad Jâm. It was she who was the mother of Akbar and who was known by the beautiful title of Miriam Makâni, *i.e.*, "of the household of Mary." In all probability Akbar owed much of his good sense and self-restraint to her, for his opium-eating father had little of either of these qualities. But, apart from this, it is evident that, in old times, sweetness and light came into India from the north, that is, from Persia. The accounts which the Emperor Bâbar gives in his Memoirs of the brilliant court of Sultan Husain, the sovereign of Khurasan, show that at that time Herat was to Delhi and Agra as Rouen was to London in the time of Edward the Confessor, or as Paris was in the

days of Charles the Second. Or we may say that Persia during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was to India what Italy was to northern Europe. Persian arts and sciences flowed over into India, especially in the domain of painting and calligraphy, and Persian poets were the models for Indian versifiers. The latter were in fact the parrots that Hafiz seems to have called them, for their highest ambition seems to have been to make *jawábs* or imitations of Persian poems. Faizi, for instance, the brother of Abul Fazl, laboriously set himself to practise imitations of the five poems of Nizami.

But the greatest benefit which Persia conferred upon India was, I think, the number of excellent public servants which it sent to her during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The three volumes of the Maisira-l-Umara or Memoirs of Officers afford striking evidence of the extent to which men of Persian birth were pillars of the empire. The little district of Khawaf alone supplied numbers of good men. No doubt it was Humâyun and Akbar's predilection for Persian customs and civilization that favoured the immigration, but it could not have continued had not the standard of excellence been kept up. The two best historians of India, Nizam-ud-din and Ferishta were Persians, and so also was Samsamu-d-doulah, the author of the great biographical dictionary. The history of Ghias Beg, the father of Nur Jehan, and his descendants, is a typical one. He, like so many other Persians, was driven into India by poverty and the oppressiveness of rulers, and the services of his family largely repaid the hospitality which they received. Perhaps, if there had been then an Alien Act in India, such as now exists in England, neither he, nor Fathullah of Shiraz, nor Hakim Ali of Gilan would have been allowed to enter.

Gleanings from Paštō

BY

PROF. DR. A. LUDWIG,

UNIVERSITY OF PRAGE, AUSTRIA.

(1) GERMAN (GOTHIC) *sibun*.

The numeral *seven* offers through the whole range of the so-called Indo-European languages a nearly uninterrupted uniformity, beginning with Grecian ἑπτά (*septa*) and ending with Sanskrit *sapta(n)*. We could not guess what sort of sound *p* originally was, if the German languages were not to prove that the *p* could not be the original sound; *sibun* cannot be derived either from *saptan* or from *sapan*; it would be useless to squander words for this purpose. German *sibun* points unmistakeably to an aspirate; in Greek it would be σεφα, in Sanskrit *sabhan*. This *sabhan* has no doubt existed, and the etymology of *saptan* is consequently to be fetched not from a radix *sap sep*, which in the Latin tongue would give *sectem*, but from radix *sabh*, which is not a very common one. Popular etymology, which is from times immemorial at work to connect the stray material of language, and to link the individual words into families of words, referring them to a common stock called root or radix, could feel little tempted to turn to *sabh* rather than to *sap*. Had the connexion between *sabh* and *saptan* been felt as vividly as, for instance, that of *buddhi* with *budh*, we should have undoubtedly *sabdhan*. For the aspirate in all such instances as *buddhi* is only the consequence of an afterthought. In the old form, which must have been *butti*, people missed the characteristic aspiration, and unable to resuscitate it in its original place, removed it to the letter next following. The form *sabhan* is proved to have existed, besides the German, by the Paštō form *awa* (*hawa*), which cannot be reduced to the form elsewhere met with in Iranian languages. Consequently it is proved that there were two forms for the numeral seven; a simpler, more original one, *sabhan*; and one doubly derived *saptan*, according to the Sanskrit standard.

This discovery is of double importance; from a phonetic point of view

sapta (ἑπτα) is interesting, as I should think the only instance of a combination of an aspirate with a surd explosive $\phi+t$ and a proof that $\phi+t$ became *pt*, a proof dating from a primeval period. Pity that a radix beginning with an explosive was not made use of. Secondly, we have an additional instance of the fact, that the suffix *ti* was used as a derivative, without changing the original signification. The suffix *ti* appears in Latin *septi-ens*, where *-ens* is like *-an* in *saptan* the second element, as there exists no suffix *iens*. The *i* has been dropped in *saptan*, and may be traced in Lit. *septyni*. Another instance is Sclavon. *šestĭ* against Lit. *šeši cf. e.g.*, the *v* occurs in Celtic, Lit. has *ušes* side by side with *šešes*, *i.e.*, *švešes*, the six weeks kept by women when in childbed, Bakt, *kšvas* Paštō *špaž*[1], six, answering to Sk., *šašti*, generally sixty, but already Benfey has remarked long ago, that in the Ṛgveda it is found to signify six. Now it would be perfectly ridiculous to suppose that the *ti* in *šašti* was different from the *t* (*ti septiens septyni*) in *saptan*. Sometimes *ti* is the result of mechanical procedure, so in Greek πέντε of dissimilation instead of πέμπε (πεμπτός could not be altered). In Sclavon. *pętĭ* on the contrary *pękĭ* has been assimilated to *šesti*; Lit. has *penki*.

The numerals from five to ten have been variously assimilated by pairs: five six—seven eight—nine ten—in the Sclav. tongues, partly also elsewhere. So in the Sclav. *ti* has been added to nine and to ten, *devę-tĭ*, *desę-tĭ*; *nava-ti* in Sk. signifies ninety, whereas *devętĭ* nine. Lit. has only *dešimtis*.

Isolated as this fact may seem, it proves nevertheless that Paštō as a language goes back to a very remote antiquity.

(2) Paštō *trah*, uncle; Sansk. *pitṛvyah*.

This word points evidently to *pita* father, and has lost the initial *p*: *ptrah*. It has, in this respect, a remarkable similitude to Sclav. *strŭij*. In Sclav. *s* is inserted between *p* and *t*: *ptrŭij* therefore, became *pstrŭij*; in later times the accumulation of *pst* was disliked, and the group had to be simplified by elision of one of the three consonants. In all such cases the parasitic element proves the stronger; so the *s* was kept, and the *p* rejected. The same process has taken place in *txân* (thân), 'father-in-law,' instead of *ptchân*.

[1] Pers. only *zas*.

It is well-known that the vowel between *p* and *t* is elided already in the old Baktrian. Remark besides *trôr* (*trôray*), an aunt, *turbûr*, a father's brother's son, perhaps in consequence of a transposition of letters from *bhrâtṛvya* (cousin and enemy, *tûrbûrgalwî*, nepotism and enmity). Probably borrowed.

(3) Paštō *wrîže* ; Sanskrit *vrîhi*.*

The Paštō word offers no difficulty, and there exists probably an intimate connection between it and Persian *birinj*. But the Sanskrit word is by no means clear. If we compare *wṛal bhar*, *wror* brother, *wradz* day (*bhraj*), it is pretty certain that *wrîže* answers to an older form *bhrîže* or *bhrinže*, which would also account for the Persian *birinj*. The Sanskrit *v* would incline us to suppose that the western neighbours of the Hindoos borrowed the word (along with the object) from India, while the relation of Sanskrit *h* to Paštō, *i.e.*, Iranian *ž* would make one rather suppose the contrary. For the two cannot be reconciled to each other, supposing them to have originally belonged severally to the Iranian and to the Hindoo form of speech. Now the probability is decidedly in favour of the assumption, that India was the land the rice came from to the countries situated more to the west. Rice, I suppose, is not mentioned before the end of the fourth century B. C. to have been cultivated in Persia, Mesopotamia and Babylonia. It may have been cultivated a few centuries earlier in the countries lying immediately to the west of India. Thus the opposite supposition, which would make India to have been the borrower, is utterly to be rejected. But, on the other hand, rice is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. Whence comes then the word *vrîhi* ? It is certainly not borrowed from the Dravidian, seeing that *arisi* in Tamil is borrowed from Sanskrit ; *taṇḍula* may be derived from some Dravidian dialect, as it occurs both in Tamil and Telugu, although in a probably Sanskritized shape.

It would consequently appear that Tamil as well as the nations to the west of the Indus have borrowed the word in a more ancient shape, and have preserved it unchanged, whereas in Sanskrit (or more correctly speaking, in the language of the Mânava Âryâs) the *ž* has been subsequently changed into *h*.

The Tamil has borrowed the word a second time at a later period and made it *virîghi* (written *virîki*); Telugu writes *vrîhi*. I am not quite sure whether there exists a word for rice in the Dravidian, which is common to all the different languages of that stock ; *sôṛu* (cooked rice, in Mal. *čôṛu*) is common to Telugu, Tamil, Malayâlam;

vari to Telugu and Tamil, but this does not seem to be a very important word; Telugu has *prâlu* (=*akšata*), *vaḍlu*, *biyyam* (Sanskrit *vîyam*, if deprived of husks); Tamil *alagu*, *nellu* (*net*, growing crop), *sol* (fine rice), *tôrad* (mountain rice) *parivayam*(?) *nîvaram*, *câli* (both in common with Sanskrit and Paštō *šolah*, paddy). Tamil (partly also Telugu) furnishes an endless string of terms for rice, boiled or cooked, and other detail, all of them, with insignificant exceptions, vernacular. Malayâlam has, likewise, a very complicated terminology relating to the culture of rice, as may be seen in Rev. L. T. Frohnmeyer's "Progressive Grammar of the Malayâlam Language," pp. 213-215.

As rice plays an important part in the sacrificial offerings of the Hindoos, it is probable that the word *vrîhi* entered into Tamil in consequence of the sacrificial practice, just as *odanam* signifies in Telugu as well as in Tamil, boiled rice and food in general.

A Consensus of Opinion in the Exegesis of the Avesta

BY

REV. DR. L. H. MILLS, PROFESSOR OF ZEND PHILOLOGY,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

It is recognised that writers upon the Avesta and kindred subjects feel greatly more at liberty when handling detached pieces. Views which they themselves regard as being hardly more than possibly correct are presented with a certain dash.

Strange to say, this is a very useful mode of procedure.

Experts are supposed to be entirely familiar with all the points already established as most probable, so that in treating isolated sections of the Avesta, it would be a twice-told tale to state the well-known settled views. Writers therefore offer much extended suggestion with the chief value that it is startling; and this stirs up thought, which is essentially desirable.

It is also well known that writers at one time piqued themselves upon neglecting the Pahlavi Alphabet, in order that their own results might be the more independent.

And strange as this may appear, it has again been highly beneficial for the study, as an unqualified dependence upon the Pahlavi Commentaries is fatal.

When however a writer is called upon to make a standing report of an entire mass of documents, such as the Gâthas, the Yashts or the Vendîdâd, which is intended to instruct inquirers outside of the small circle of experts, he gives full play to the exercise of the faculty of judgment, and offers the soundest opinions.

Those who adopt the first plan very naturally fill their pieces with useful snapshots, so to express one's self, and so differ indefinitely from all others, as often from themselves in earlier and later productions, but in the closely weighed works as I am happy to say, we have now reached what is obviously a substantial consensus in opinion; and this is indeed a matter of grave importance. Here I do not refer merely to verbatim renderings which have been long familiar and which are for the

most part fixed, but to the general and primary cast of the interpretations. Except at the extreme cases of special difficulty and uncertain texts, where is the marked, or radical divergence in opinion, the grammatical forms also are seldom questioned.

Take for instance such important sections as Yasna XXVIII: there is scarcely a doubtful word in it; and the latest translations are nearly identical with the former ones; so of Yasna XXX., XXXI., etc.; see also Yasna XLV.

The remaining portions which contain the unanswerable questions require alternative treatment, which has naturally fallen to my lot in the case of the Gâthas.

Here I have endeavoured to report almost every serious possibility. In regard to my literary translation in S. B. E., I will be allowed to add a word, as that engagement was so important. I would now in a new edition, which has been informally mentioned, introduce the original words Asha, Vohu Manah, Khshathra, etc., everywhere.

"O Asha (Angel of the Holy Law), shall I see there!"[f] This would be awkward enough, and my fault-finders seized upon the inserted parenthetical words, yet in a new edition, I would resort to them everywhere, for in such a matter, everything should be sacrificed to absolute clearness.

What I mean to say is that a consensus in opinion has been reached as to the great mass of these most precious documents, in some cases indeed greatly to the regret of the consensors.

The last translations, slightly differing as they do and ought to do from each other, go back upon verbatims practically identical; and non-expert readers can often see this, much as some of us endeavour to conceal it.

As regards the later Avesta the same remarks hold good, but little modified. Slight, or greater differences as to immediate point are still possible, while in the treatment of detached pieces, writers will as ever launch forth into lively guesses, as it is quite right and fitting that they should do; but here again all goes back upon the same identical verbatims. Take my renderings of the Hôm Yasht in S. B. E. XXXI.; there I avowed especial freedom 'to point the sense, or round the rhythm,' and one good friend thought me to be indulging 'in a subtle paraphrase.'

But the rhythm is of great importance, as the original is fully metrical; and æsthetic effect assists the sentimental expression.

In one particular I have to meet an especial obstacle.

Scholars, not English, but familiar with printed English often never hear it spoken, so that the tonic accent is wholly lost upon them; but it is this accent which creates the cadence. To preserve this I was forced to introduce the particles at every turn; and this all the more fixes and defines the intended sense; a free rendering admits of no concealments. But this again all goes back upon verbatims which are almost uncontested; page after page, and chapter after chapter show differences in cast which are only to be expected, and which are also desirable.

Persons who criticise a translation proceed themselves at once to make renderings practically identical with those which they would amend.

The above is of the first moment, for it enables us to apply the Avesta to the history of Jewish and Christian dogma.

If the Avesta is reproduced in the Exilic theology directly or indirectly, it is a service of immense significance to show it; but it could not be so applied till the fact of a consensus was made clear.

In this connection how dear the memory of Spiegel should be to all of us. He lived to find, at the end of his days, that his *via media* had fairly triumphed.

Incapable of proceeding to demonstration without some attempt, at least, to exploit his materials, he proceeded as best he could, winning from a great rival the concession that he 'surpassed us all in Gelehrsamkeit.' Time and strength failed him, as well it might, to enter into every detail in his Commentary, but what a wealth of riches was afforded by him, with his brilliant Colleague. Times and again have I come upon his keen and objective treatment in my well-meant researches in the Pahlavi.

Well may Germany be proud of the tireless Pioneer who brought over the subject from beyond the Rhine, and whose method of procedure has now been fully vindicated.

What one of our new *scharfsinnig* departures was not either begun or indirectly suggested by Spiegel and his Colleague?

He had indeed one serious defect which we may all the more regret since it exposed him to acute suffering. He was ever 'zu viel Gentleman!'

He could not have wantonly sought to injure others; and he could not understand why others should wish to injure him.

Long may his memory remain green as the man who was ever ready to hold out a friendly hand to beginners, to help them face the usual combinations, he being beyond all things the out-spoken enemy of clique, an iniquity which, both for its sin and for its folly, was one which he could little understand.

Prehistoric Relations between Iran and Egypt

BY

MR. MEHRJIBHAI NOSHERWANJI KUKA, M.A.

One of the most ancient civilisations of the world was that of Egypt. History informs us that Egypt and Iran first came into contact in the fourteenth century B.C., when Media felt the force of the victorious arm of Ramases the Great, called Sesostris by the Greeks. The wave of conquest rolled in the opposite direction seven centuries later, when Egypt bowed before the might of Persia, and remained her vassal for several generations. But long before the first historic clashing of the two nations, there had existed relations between them (as is sought to be proved in this paper), and a branch of the Iranian family had lived for a length of time with the Egyptians, leaving behind them the traces of their sojourn. This happened at a very remote period—a period which, though beyond the reach of the light of History, is rendered dimly visible by the light of Philology and kindred sciences.

EGYPTIAN CIVILISATION NOT INDIGENOUS.

Egyptologists are agreed on the point that for the first beginnings of civilisation Egypt is indebted to Asia. According to these savants, that country received in the earliest ages its first settlers as well as its entire culture from Babylonia, and these people are supposed to have reached the Nile about 5000 B. C., or even earlier. They spoke a Semitic tongue strongly mixed with Sumerian or early Babylonian words, as is evident from the traces left of their language in that of the Egyptians. The pioneers of the Babylonian civilisation were the Akkadians, who had come down at an unknown period—probably earlier than even 6000 B. C.—from the mountainous regions which lie about Media, and who were Turanians by descent, belonging to the yellow or Mongolian family.[1] I have shown elsewhere[2] the traces left of the Iranian influence even on these people at that far off period when they were neigh-

[1] Dr Hommel's *Civilisation of the East*, pp. 2, 28, and 37; Anderson's *Story of the Extinct Civilisation of the East*, pp. 25, 36, and 156; C. P. Tiele's *History of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 12.

[2] My paper on "The Era of Zoroaster" in *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July 1903.

bours and lived in the same country with the Iranians. But with such indirect connection between Iran and Egypt the present paper has no concern, its aim being to show the traces of *direct* relations between the two.

A most important of these traces is the presence of a number of Iranian words in the Egyptian language prior to the Achemenian period. A list of a few such words is given below :

WORDS OF IRANIAN ORIGIN IN THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.

Egyptian words.[1]	Avesta words.
ap = water	*ap* = water
Apep = name of the water-dragon who caused the deluge	*upâpa* = creature living in the water
Apheru = the west	*apara* = behind, the west
antu = boundary	*anta* = end
arrtu = ascent	*haraiti* = mountain
hest = seat, abode	*hasta* = abode
Hor = the sun	*Hvar* = the sun (Pers. *Hûr*)
i = to go	*i* = to go
kaû = the cow	*gao* = the cow
ka = land, earth	*gao* = the earth
khaut = knife	*kareta* = knife (*cf.* Fr. *couteau*)
ma = measure	*mâ* = measure
mat = middle, centre	*maidhya* = middle, centre
mut, *meht*, *mat* = mother	*mâtar* = mother
nam = to be forced to bow	*nam* = to bow
nra = man	*nar* = male, man
put = foot	*padha* = foot
pfa = wind	*vâ* = to blow *vaya* = air
sha = night	*khshap* = night
ta = this	*ta* = this
tun = to extend, to stretch out	*tan* = to stretch
uru = great	*uru* = great
urit = chariot	*ratha* = chariot
ukhs = to create and mould	*ukhsh* = to sprinkle, to fecundate
ushu = to consume by fire	*ush* = to consume by fire

[1] These have mostly been taken from Budge's *Egyptian Language*, and Gerald Massey's *Natural Genesis*.

Egyptian words.	Avesta words.
usha = nightfall, twilight	*ushâ* = the dawn (Sans. *usha* = dawn; *ushâ* = nightfall, twilight)
tiu = two	*dva* = two
sas = six	*khshwash* = six (Pers. *shash*)
hapti = seven	*hapta* = seven
saa = a hundred	*sata* = a hundred (*cf.* Hindi *sao*)
huma = hemp	Sanskirt *umâ* = flax
push = flower or fruit	Sanskrit *pushpa* = flower
mâk = to give	Sanskrit *magha* = gift

The above Egyptian words could not have been derived from those of the early Babylonian settlers in Egypt, as the Babylonian equivalents of most of these words are different.

Horus and his Cult.

The Egyptian god *Hor* (Gr. Horus) and his cult supply another clear evidence of the influence of Iran on Egypt in the prehistoric past. *Hor* is nothing but the phonetic equivalent of the Avesta *Hvar*, the Sun. The worship of *Hor* was introduced into Egypt in very remote antiquity by some unknown people from a foreign land, and these strangers could have been no other than the Iranians, as the name of their god shows. These people were called by the later Egyptians *Sheshu-Hor* or *Hor-Sheshu*, *i.e.*, the followers or worshippers of the god Horus. They are considered by De Rougé and others to represent *the type of the most remote antiquity*.[1] One of the most ancient and sacred solar temples of the Egyptians was the one at On, or Heliapolis, which, according to tradition, was founded by the Hor-Sheshu in ages past, previous to 5000 B. C.[2] They were the first Sun-worshippers in Egypt, long before there were any temples of the Sun in the land. In the words of Lockyer "the Hor-Sheshu are almost prehistoric, even in Egyptian history."[3]

[1] "Le type de l'antiquité la plus reculée."

[2] Lockyer's *Dawn of Astronomy*, pp. 58 and 74.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 150. There were several gods of the name of Horus later on; what we are concerned with is the earliest god of that name, distinguished from the later gods by the epithet of 'uru' or 'the great.'

Rê and the Eight Elemental Gods.

Another Sun-god of the Egyptians was *Rê*,[1] certain details about whom throw some light on an obscure allusion in the Mihr Yasht. The passage runs as follows:—

> "Whose [*i. e.*, Mithra's] eight friends sit as spies for Mithra on all the heights, at all the watching places, observing the man who lies unto Mithra . . . . but guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by men who lie unto Mithra . . . . " (Yt. X., 45.)

These eight friends of Mithra are the same as the Egyptian Xemennu, the eight gods of the elementary forces of nature. In Chapter XVII. of "The Book of the Dead" is this passage:—

> "Rê began to exercise his sovereignty while as yet there was no firmament, and when he was on the height of Am-Chemun, for then he established the 'Children of Inertness' upon the height of Am-Chemun."

Chemun was the Egyptian name of Hermopolis, but it also signified the number eight. The 'Children of Inertness' or 'Children of Chaos' were the elementary forces of nature, eight in number. These, born out of Chaos, henceforth became active and were made to rule the world under Rê as the demiurgus.[2] According to Renouf four of these were male and four female, others say they were four white and four black. O'Neil compares them to the eight *Vasus*, forms of fire or light protectors or regulators of the eight regions of the world, who figure in Hindu mythology next to Brahmâ and have Indra for their chief.[3]

Ancient Mode of Disposal of the Dead.

The Egyptians of the later period buried or embalmed their dead, but in prehistoric times they used to expose their dead bodies to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey, just as the Iranians did and the Parsees do still, and the bones they collected and preserved in tombs corresponding to the Astôdâns of the Iranians. Says Sayce: "One at least of the prehistoric races appears to have practised secondary burial. The skeletons discovered in its graves have been mutilated in an extraordinary manner. The skull, the legs, the arms, the feet, and the hands have been

[1] *Cf.* Avesta *raya*, shining.

[2] Le Page Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 198, 199, and 232.

[3] O'Neil, *Night of the Gods*, Vol. I, p. 166.

found dissevered from the trunk; even the backbone itself is sometimes broken into separate portions; there are cases in which the whole skeleton is a mere heap of bones. But in spite of this dismemberment the greatest care had been taken to preserve the separate fragments. . . . . It seems evident that the race whose dismembered remains have thus been found in some of the prehistoric cemeteries of Egypt, *allowed the bodies of the dead to remain unburied until the flesh had been stripped from their bones by the birds and beasts of prey*, and that it was only when this had been done that the sun-bleached bones were consigned to the tomb." [1]

Judgment of the Dead.

According to the Egyptian belief the soul, after death, had to appear before the sun-god Osiris, the judge of the nether-world, to answer for his deeds in this world. He was led by Horus to the judgment-seat of Osiris, before which stood a weighing balance. The heart of the man to be judged was placed in one scale and the image of the goddess Mât, the goddess of Truth and Righteousness, in the other. Anubis, the dog-headed god, acted as the director of weight and watched the indicator of the balance, while Thoth, the god of letters, wrote down the result.

There is in this a striking resemblance to the judgment of the dead according to the Iranian notions. In the latter case the judge is Mithra, the Sun-god, the usher is Sraosha, and the holder of the scales is Rashnu, the angel of justice and uprightness, who is assisted in the weighing by Arshtât, the angel of truth and uprightness.

The Spiritual Double.

The *Fravashis* of the Iranians have their counterpart in the *'Ka's* of the Egyptians. Like the 'ideas' of Plato, the Ka was the double or spiritual shadow of all objects, divine or human, animate or inanimate. The Ka was immortal, but it needed to be sustained upon food and drink, and hence rose the offerings which were made to the dead. It was not however the material substance that the Ka consumed, but the Ka or spiritual double of the food and drink offered. Every man had to propitiate with sacrificial offerings his own Ka, the Ka of his ancestors, and the Ka of the locality in which he lived. In the Egyptian monuments the king is often sculptured in the act of propitiating his Ka, which stands in front of him. In

[1] A. H. Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 25.

some parts of Egypt the place of the Ka was taken by the *Ba* or 'soul,' the imperishable part of man, which, like the Ka, passed after death into the other world. It was pictured as a bird with a human head, and sometimes with human hands also.[1]

The Iranian *Fravashis* are the spiritual prototypes of all things in the universe. Every man, living or dead, has his Fravashi and so have the gods theirs. The Fravashis desire to be invoked with sacrificial offerings. In the Persian monuments at Persepolis, the king is represented along with his Fravashi, the latter taking the form of a human figure wearing at the waist a winged circle. In the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII, 70), the Fravashis are compared to birds.

Importance given to the Birth of a Son.

Like the Indo-Iranians the Egyptians held it essential for the welfare of the soul in the other world, to leave behind them a son who should perform the due rites, funeral or post-funeral. The duty that thus devolved on him was held to be as obligatory as the worship of the gods, and was thoroughly insisted upon in all the maxims or moral texts. One of the most terrible of imprecations was to wish that a man may not have a son after him to perform the rites.[2]

Dressing the Hair.

Another Egyptian custom similar to that of the Aryans[3] was the peculiar fashion of dressing the hair. The Egyptians shaved the head and beard closely, but they nevertheless kept a plaited lock of hair on the height of the forehead.

The First Man.

The Egyptians thought that the first man of whom they had any record was a king named M'na (called by the Greeks Mên or Menes). The person corresponds to Menu of the Hindus, who was also regarded as the first of men.[4]

The Sacred Bull.

The Egyptians held the bull sacred, and one of these animals, chosen by means of certain marks, was paid divine honours as the god Apis, another of a

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[1] Sayce, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 49, 50 and 60. Renouf, *op. cit.* pp. 147 and 148.

[2] Renouf, *op. cit.* pp. 138 and 139. Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, ch. VIII.

[3] Especially the Hindus.

[4] Rawlinson's *Egypt* (S. of N. Series), pp. 48 and 53.

different kind as the god Mnevis. Herodotus mentions that in the selection of the bull used for sacrificial purposes, the requirements of the Egyptians were that the animal should be all white with not a single black hair on his body. This description tallies exactly with that of the bull kept in the Parsi fire temples for ceremonial purposes. When the Egyptian bull Apis died, all the priests were immediately excluded from the temple, which was given up to profound solitude and silence, as if in mourning for the death of the god. Among the Parsis also, when the sacred bull of the fire-temple dies, certain religious ceremonies have to be stopped until such time as another bull has been obtained and installed.

The Sacred Word.

Egypt, in common with Babylonia, India, and Iran, attached very great importance to the Sacred Word, corresponding to the *Mañtra* of the Hindus and the *Mâñthra* of the Iranians. The soul gained its victories in the underworld with the help of holy words taught to it by the rituals. The repetition of names in numerous documents is due to the superstitious belief in their magical effect.[1]

Calendar and Festivals.[2]

The Egyptian year, like the Iranian, consisted of twelve months of 30 days each, and five epagomînal or supplementary days. What is more, the Egyptians, like the Iranians, had a presiding divinity for every month of the year, and for every day of the month. Their annual festival of the Dead, called the Uak festival, was held on the 18th and 19th of Thoth, the first month of the year. Their year originally commenced with the Summer Solstice.

The Iranian month Farvardin also originally had its appointed place at the Summer Solstice,[3] and the festival of the dead also fell on the 19th of that month—on the day corresponding to the name of the month. So long as the two nations properly intercalated their years, their festivals of the dead were bound to coincide, even to a day.

Regarding the other festivals of the Egyptians, the following inscription of king Chnumhotep at Beni-Hassan tells its own tale:—"I ordered funeral offerings

1 O'Neil, *Night of the Gods*, Vol. II., p. 791. Renouf, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
2 Renouf, pp. 85, 134, and Massey, *Book of the Beginnings*, Vol. I., p. 146. Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 233.
3 See my essay on *The Nomenclature of the Parsee Months* in the "K. R. Cama Memorial Volume."

for all the feasts of the nether world, at the *feast of the new year*, at the beginning of the year, at the feast of the little year, at the feast of the great year, at the feast of the great joyful feast, at the *feast of the Great Heat*, at the *feast of the Little Heat*, at the *feast of the five supplementary days of the year*, at the feast of Shetat, at the festival of the Sand, at the *twelve monthly feasts*, at the twelve half-monthly feasts, at all the feasts of the plain and the mountain."

The festivals in italics have their corresponding parallels in the Iranian calendar—the new year festival, the festival of Great Heat (*i.e.*, *Maidhyoshehma*), the festival of Little Heat or departing heat (*Ayâthrema*), the festival of the five supplementary days (*Hamaspathmaidem*), and the twelve monthly feasts.

Summary.

Of the points mentioned above to show the relation between Iran and Egypt, there are several which can equally apply to relations during the historic period or from the time of Cambyses downward. But those which go to establish the theory of prehistoric relations, which forms the subject of this paper, are:

(1) The evidence of Egyptian words derived from the Iranian language and the use of such words in the documents and monuments of ages long anterior to the Achemenian period.

(2) The worship of the Sun under the name of *Hor*, *i. e.*, the Iranian *Hvar*, introduced by foreigners at a period of very remote antiquity.

(3) The peculiar method of disposal of the dead body among at least one of the prehistoric races living in Egypt, and the identity of that method with that of the Iranians. (This in itself is not a sufficiently convincing proof, but it becomes so when taken with the other evidences.)

(4) The importance attached by the Egyptians to the leaving behind of a son for the performance of the funeral rites, this being a characteristic feature of the Indo-Iranians, and not of the Semites and Akkadians or early Babylonians.

(5) The community of belief among the Egyptians (of an earlier age than the fourteenth century B. C.) and the Iranians, about the eight companions or subordinates of the Sun-god. This could not have been due to the influence of Egypt on Iranian thought of the Achemenian period, as a similar belief can

be traced among the Hindus also, and therefore the interchange of ideas must have taken place at a remote age prior to the separation of the Indo-Iranians.

Conclusion.

It is not sought to prove here that the first Egyptians were of the Aryan race. Indeed, the origin of the Egyptians is a point that has not yet received a satisfactory solution. But though we may be in the dark concerning this point, it seems clear that in very remote times, of which there is no record on the page of history, a colony of the early Babylonians settled in Egypt and amalgamated with the people. Earlier still by several centuries a colony of the Iranians, calling themselves followers of the sun-god *Hvar*, settled on the banks of the Nile, as has been shown here. If this fact is once acknowledged it follows that the civilisation of the Indo-Iranians was of a far greater antiquity than that of the Egyptians,—a point to which sufficient attention has not been paid by western scholars, who, whenever there is a question of the antiquity of the Aryan civilisation, have a tendency to underestimate it, for, unfortunately, the ancient Aryans have not left such permanent historical landmarks of their civilisation, as have the Babylonians and the Egyptians.

Iranian Mythology:

Comparison of a few Iranian Episodes with Hindu and Greek Stories

BY

MR. PALANJI BARJOJI DESAI.

Perhaps it may be argued that a great monotheistic religion must have no myths or legends. The Iranian people — the great offshoot of the greater Aryan race — were a monotheistic nation, believing in the existence of only *one* God, Ahura Mazda. Yet the Iranian religion, notwithstanding its monotheistic tendency, is not lacking the traces of the myths of the Aryan stock. "Of all the religions of the Indo-European origin," says Prof. Whitney, "of all the religions of the ancient gentile world, it [the Zoroastrian religion] may fairly be claimed to have been the most noble and worthy of admiration, for the depth of its philosophy, the spirituality of its views and doctrines, and the purity of its morality."[1] Yet we find more incidents than one in the religion of the Iranians, which lead us to believe that the people were not ignorant of the myths and legends of their Aryan forefathers. Of course, we cannot find in the religion of the "Avesta" a single instance of the loves and quarrels of the gods and goddesses of the Vedic Indians or the ancient Hellenes. Then again, although the Vedic Indians were closely related to the Avestic Iranians in the matter of language as well as religious rites and ceremonies, there is not a tittle of evidence in the whole course of the Iranian literature to show that the people of ancient Iran used to propitiate the good as well as the evil gods like the Hindus and the Greeks.

Notwithstanding all this difference, the Iranian people have their myths, their legends and their fairy tales, they having descended from the one and the same stock as the other Aryan nations. The mythology of the Aryans was not a collection of absurd stories to gratify a low taste or please a filthy mind, but it has a pure

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[1] *Vide* chapter on the *Avesta* in the "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," p. 191.

meaning of its own and a good purpose to serve. However, it is not my intention here to defend the good faith of the mythology of our Aryan forefathers. My object in writing this paper is to show the resemblance between some of the Iranian myths on the one hand, and Hindu and Greek myths and tales on the other, which, so far as I know, has not yet been shown by Occidental savants versed in Oriental folklore. I do not mean to say that none of them has cared to notice this interesting subject (as there are many who can be pointed out as having handled the subject and compared many an episode of the Hindus and the Greeks), but what I assert is that in making such comparison, they have left out altogether the Iranian stories, which very much correspond to those of the Hindus and the Greeks. For instance, there is a good story of the Iranian Prince Isfandyar and his sisters which resembles in almost all the main incidents with the story of Rama and his wife Sita. Another Iranian episode is of the loves of Bizhan and Manizheh, which has for its counterpart the story of Okha and Aniruddha as mentioned in the "Harivansa Parva" of the *Mahâbhârata*.

But I must begin at the beginning. I have said that in the Zoroastrian literature of the Iranian religion, that is, in the Books of the Avesta, there are traces of ancient myths and legends. It is not difficult for a student of comparative mythology to prove this. In the Avesta we find many names of divine beings or *Izads* which resemble those of the Vedic *Devtas*. The similarity is not only in name, but in attributes also. Again, there are names of certain rites and ceremonies; there are names of kings and heroes; of countries, cities, rivers, etc., in the Avesta, having their synonyms in the Vedas. To make this clear, I subjoin a short list, which will show at a glance that the Iranian and the Hindu minds were one and the same at one time, when the Vedic and the Avestic people lived together in one common home in the Central Asian tablelands, or, according to Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, somewhere towards the North Pole.[1]

Avestic.	*Vedic.*	*Avestic.*	*Vedic.*
Haoma	Soma	Naonghaithya	Nâsatya
Mithra	Mitra	Verethra	Vṛitra
Vayu	Vâyu	Verethraghna, Verethrajan	Vṛitrahan
Airyaman	Aryaman		Sarvara, Śambara
Armaiti	Armati	Srvara	
Indra	Indra		

[1] See his latest work "The Arctic Home in the Vedas."

Avestic.	*Vedic.*	*Avestic.*	*Vedic.*
Yima	Yama	Erejataspa	Rijràṣva
Thraetaona	Traitana	Rangha	Rasá
Áthwya	Aptya	Harakhaiti	Sarasvati
Thrita	Trita	Hávana	Sávana
Kávya Us	Kavi Uṣana	Zaota	Hotá
Husravangh	Susravas	Hapta Hendu	Sapta Sindhu

As these names were common among the early Aryan people, so were the myths. The mythology of the wars of Indra with Vṛitra of the Veda has its counterpart in the Avesta in the mythic wars of Tiṣtrya with Apaosha. Vṛitra the demon steals off the heavenly cows (the water-clouds), and Indra, the rain-god, after vanquishing him in great battles, forces him to surrender the animals. After this, the drought disappears and rain falls everywhere. The Drought-devil in the Avesta is the demon Apaosha, who opposes Tiṣtrya, the rain-izad, in three successive battles, in the last of which the Izad succeeds and his adversary is vanquished. This causes the rain to fall on parched lands in large drops, which fertilizes the earth and gladdens the hearts of the people.

Indra for his victory over Vṛitra is given the appellation of 'Vṛitrahan' (*i.e.* the slayer of Vṛitra); but notwithstanding his great victory, Tiṣtrya does not appear to have received any such title. Yet from the above list two names will be seen corresponding to the Vedic Vṛitra and Vṛitrahan. These are Verethra and Verethraghna (or Verethrajan). Verethraghna is used in the Avesta as the name of an angel; but why he is called by this name, is not clear. This angel in modern Persian is the izad Behram (a corruption of the ancient name Verethraghna). But there are more angels than one in the Avesta who are known by the appellation of 'Verethrajan,' such as Vayu, Mithra, Sraosha, etc. The question is why they are so called. Of course, they must have annihilated the demon Verethra, the counterpart of Vṛitra in the Veda. But there does not appear to be any demon bearing that name in the Avesta. Although there we find the word itself, yet it is not the word for the name of a person or a heavenly being. It is either used as an abstract noun meaning 'victory,' or as a common noun meaning 'enemy,' and 'Verethrajan' is an adjective meaning 'victorious.' The Avestic people in the first place forgetting the original mythic meanings of the words retried to preserve the myth of the yearly

meteorological phenomenon of drought and rain in after years by transferring the achievements of Verethra to Apaosha, and Verethraghna to Tistrya.[1]

Of course, it is not easy to attempt to compare these Avestic and Vedic myths with those of the Hesiodic Theogony, because there is no distinct story in the Greek mythology about the causation of the fall of rain after many sultry months on dry and parched land. But there is a proper name in the Theogony which has a striking resemblance with the names of the Iranian and the Vedic demons. This name is Orthros; it is a word which exactly coincides with the words Vṛitra and Verethra. It is the name, not of a demon of course, but of a hound of a monster named Geryon who had robbed the neighbouring princes of their cattle and given to Orthros the dog to guard them. Now this dog was a two-headed monster, and was sprung from the union of Echidna and Typhon. Geryon himself was a monster having three bodies and three heads. (Compare three-headed and six-eyed Azhi, the serpent in the Avesta, and Vedic Ahi, the parallel of Azhi. Echidna, the mother of Orthros, was the sister of Geryon, and she was a serpent below the waist.) When Herakles destroyed Orthros and liberated the flocks and herds which were stolen, he destroyed Geryon too. Both these monsters were conceived to be one and the same being by the Aryan poets. Thus it is clear that the myth of Orthros was the myth of Verethra and Vṛitra, all the three names having been one and the same at one time.

The destruction of Orthros by Herakles was one of his twelve labours; but this act of heroism, which was once assigned to an Aryan god, and which had its origin in the annual phenomena of the heavens, was forgotten by the Greeks after their separation from the Aryan home, and this local hero was created in his place, to whom many of the achievements of the sun-god Verethraghna or Vritrahan was assigned. In the same way, I think the feat of vanquishing the demon Apaosha, which the Izad Tistrya performs, was once the feat of a certain Izad in the Avesta who is nameless yet who is there known by the appellation of Verethraghna. This Verethraghna,—that is the conqueror of Verethra—according to the "Behrâm Yasht" in the Avesta, takes many forms like Indra, the conqueror of Vṛitra. But when we see in the "Tir Yasht," another part of the Avesta, that the izad Tistrya himself takes successively

[1] This is a very beautiful myth, and I have tried to compare it with the Vedic and Greek myths, in the Gujarati monthly, the *Nur-e-Elm*, 1891-92.

three different forms at the time of going to the battle with the demon Apaosha, we cannot but conclude that this one achievement of Tiṣtrya was once one of the many achievements of that izad or god who is only known by his appellation of Verethraghna.[1] In the Greek mythology we find the name Orthrophon, which exactly tallies with Vṛitrahan and Verethrajan. But this Orthrophon (the slayer of Orthro) is not Herakles, although it was he who destroyed the monster Orthro, just as Tiṣtrya is not Verethrâjan, although he destroyed the demon Verethra (Apaosha). Just as Verethrâjan is the attributive name of some other izad who is not known, so Orthrophon must be the attributive name of some more ancient Greek god, who was forgotten at the time of the legend of Herakles.

In the "Volsunga Saga," that is, the story of the Volsungs, and also in that part of the "Edda" in which the Heroic Mythology of the North is given, we find the heroic deeds of Sigurd, who is fated to slay the dragon Fafni (or Fafnir), and who is therefore known by the name of Fafni-bane of the dragon-slayer. In the compound word 'Fafni-bane' we exactly see the meaning conveyed by the more ancient compounds Vṛitrahan and Verethrajan. Like Azhi and Ahi, Fafni is a serpent who had an enormous amount of gold which, like the heavenly cows, or the waters of the sky, came into the hands of Sigurd the Fafni-bane (=Indra the Vṛitrahan).

In the Avesta we are told that Spenta Armaiti (that is, the earth) is the daughter of Ahura Mazda. In the Rigveda, Prithavi is not only the daughter of the great god Dyaus (Greek Zeus), but she is also his wife, and they have a large progeny. We must not think for a moment that this is an absurd story concocted to gratify the low taste of the Vedic Aryans. Certainly not. We are told as well in the Greek mythology that the god Kronos maimed his own father and swallowed his own children; also that Tafitalus roasted his son and gave the gods his flesh to eat; and that Œdipus killing his father, became the husband of his own mother. But these stories, however horrid they might appear to the uncultured, are not the invention of filthy minds. They have a high and pure meaning which is hidden only from those who are not students of natural phenomena of every-day occurrence. Yet, whatever

[1] *Vide Nur-e-Elm*, 1891-92, where I have tried to compare the three myths,—that is, the Vedic, Iranian, and Greek,—interwoven into a story of comparative mythology under the title of "Śatrujit" (or "The Conqueror of the Enemy.")

pure meaning such stories may contain, the Avesta people seem reluctant to preserve them in any shape whatever in their religious literature.

Such being the case, let us now turn to another part of Iranian mythology. In the Vendidad we find the name of king Yima-Khshaeta (Jamshid), who is there said to have constructed a *vara* (a colony, a city, an enclosure) in order to preserve the best seeds of future generations of human beings, beasts and birds, after the annihilation of the living world by the great Deluge. The story of the Deluge seems to have been so old and so popular that it appears in different forms in different nations not only among the Aryan peoples, but amongst such Semitic people as the ancient Babylonians also.

In the first chapter of the Vendidad it is related that Thraetaona killed Azhi, the great demon of excessive cold, who had three mouths and six eyes. In the Veda, where this mythology seems to be preserved, we find not only the name of Tritya or Traitan, but that of the demon Ahi too; both corresponding to Thraetaona and Azhi, successively. In after years the real meaning of this same story of the conquest of severe cold by the sun-god seems to be forgotten, and a demon-king, by the name of Zahâk (Azhi-dahâka in the Avesta), is created by the Iranian mind, who was a serpent with three heads and six eyes, and who was vanquished by Fredun (Thraetaona). There is a beautiful story in the Theogony of Hesiod where we find the Greek god Apollo killing the great snake Python, who disturbed the peace of Latona, his mother. Such stories of serpent-killing heroes are numerous; such as Sigurd and Fafni in the old Norse legend; Horus and the serpent Typhon in the Egyptian mythology; Herakles and the Hydra in the Theogony; Belerophon and Chimaera; Œdipus and the Sphinx; Keresaspa and the serpent Sruvara in the Avesta; Gustasp and the dragon in the Shah-nameh; St. George and the dragon in the Irish mythology, and the like. Just as Azhi, Ahi, and Echidna are similar names that are found in the Avesta, the Veda and the Theogony, so are Sruvara, Sumbara, and Cerberos, similar names having similar meanings. They are the names of certain great serpents, or serpent-like animals, equally obnoxious to man and beast. Sruvara was a great dragon killed by the Iranian hero Keresaspa (Vedic Krisasva), and Sarvara (or Sambara) was a demon (identical with Vritra) of drought destroyed by Indra. Cerberus (Kerbes) was a three-headed monster killed by Herakles.

Just as from the mythology of the god and the demon the story of the hero and the serpent sprang out, so from the same mythology the story of the hero and the virgin took its root. The god kills the demon in order to deliver the heavenly cows (the water clouds) from his possession. These cows are the precious treasures of the victorious Indra. They were under the care of the beautiful goddess Sarma, from whose stables the demon-robber had carried them away. As Indra regains his treasure after the fight, so does Tistrya after his arduous war with the demon Apaosha. The idea of his rescuing beautiful virgins from the hands of the enemy occurred to the poets in later times, and very fascinating stories have come to be written on the subject. The Sun delivers the Dawn from the captivity of the tyrant Night, and then carries her off triumphantly. This daily phenomenon is the basis of innumerable hero-and-virgin stories. The hero Rama delivers his wife, the greatest of his treasures, from the clutches of his enemy Ravana, which is nothing but the reflection of the self-same doings of Indra, the Sun-god. And the story of the siege of Troy is the counterpart of this Indian episode. Many a scholar has cleverly endeavoured to compare these stories. But there is a third story—an Iranian one—which, although it is as exact as the above two in point of similarity, yet so far as I know, none of the scholars has ever attempted to compare with either the Hindu or the Greek story. It is the episode of Prince Isfandyar and his two sisters, who were carried away from the palace of their father, the renowned king Gustasp, by his enemy the Turanian king Arjasp. At the time of the committal of the robbery of the princesses, Isfandyar was thrown into prison by the command of his father, and the king himself was absent from Iran, having gone to Seistan as a guest of the world-renowned hero Rustam. Isfandyar goes to Ruindez, the fortress-capital of the Turanian monarch, by forced marches, and after a great deal of trouble and misery, he enters into the country of the enemy by a stratagem and in the end snatches his sisters away from him. There is much similarity between these three different stories, and the interesting incidents thereof have been compared in a lecture delivered by me under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Mandali in 1889.[1]

[1] *Vide* "શાહનામા મધેનુ એક દાસ્તાન, અને રામાયણ તથા ઈલ્યડની વાર્તાઓ સાથે સરખામણી" : જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક મંડળી સને ૧૮૮૮-૮૯ ના મોસમના ભાષણો—ભાષણ ૭૬.

Fredun had also delivered the two sisters of king Jamshid from the clutches of the enemy Zahâk, the original source of which episode and other like stories can be easily traced to the natural phenomenon, where the Sun-god appears to rescue the beautiful goddess Dawn from the clutches of the cruel Demon of Darkness. This dark demon again appears in the story of Okha, the daughter of Bâṇa (an asura), who shuts up the princess in a lonely tower in order to prevent her from marrying, because he was foretold that his own son-in-law would be his vanquisher. Aniruddha, the grandson of the god Kṛishṇa, falls in love with the beautiful princess Okha, and is carried off to her apartments, from whence he wars against Bâṇâsura, his father-in-law, and after great hardship he wins and carries away the precious treasure in the shape of his lady-love. This story of Okha and Aniruddha has its counterpart in the bewitching story of the loves of Bizhan and Manizheh in the Shah-nameh of poet Firdousi. These two stories have a number of incidents in common, but no Oriental scholar seems to have tried to show the similitude of the episodes. This the writer has attempted to do in a recent lecture.[1]

The achievements of the world-renowned hero Rustam have been very ably compared with those of the great Greek hero Herakles by Sir W. Ousley ; but it seems to me that there are many points still left unnoticed in the heroic deeds of both the warriors which correspond to each other in a great measure. [2]

Interesting stories have been told as to the feats performed by the Hindu god Kṛishṇa, which very happily correspond to those of Rustam and Herakles. But [illegible] too, the comparative Mythographers have left unnoticed. Sir G. [illegible] very large volume on the "Mythology of the Aryan [illegible] of stories have been exhaustively described a[illegible] find the deeds of Kṛishṇa compared with those [illegible]

Again, there is a very charming and heart-rending episode in the [illegible] relating to the unnatural fight between the hero Rustam and his son Sohrab. The latter goes to Iran in search of his father, but his Turanian guides purposely put him on the wrong scent and thus lead him to fight with his own parent, who not knowing that his own son is his rival, kills him. Now, neither in the Hindu, nor in the

[1] Delivered under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyah Prasarak Mandali in 1902.

[2] This the present writer has tried to do in a series of contributions entitled "Rustam and Hercules; a story of Comparative Mythology," in the *Nur-e-Elm*, 1882.

Greek mythology is there any such story as would correspond to the one we read in the Shah-nameh. But there is an Irish legend of the hero named Cuchulainn which is a parallel to the story of Rustam and Sohrab. Like Rustam, the hero of Erin slays his own son Conloch in defence of his country. Mr. Alfred Nutt, in describing the feats of Cuchulainn, calls him "the Irish Achilles";[1] but I should prefer to call him "the Irish Rustam," for this one supreme feat of killing his own son without knowing him to be so.[2]

It is not my intention here to relate story after story to show the similarity between the Iranian and the Hindu or Greek episodes, although that could easily be done were it the object of this paper. Professor Max Müller, the great Oriental scholar, and others have written much to show the origin of these stories, and Sir George Cox and others have published volumes in comparing innumerable stories of different nations to prove the Storm and the Solar theories of comparative mythologists. I am one of the believers in these theories, as without them we can not trace the origin of different stories of different countries, and assign any reason for their similarity. The natural phenomena of every-day occurrence, phenomena of every season and of every year, were the chief historical events (as it were) of the earliest Aryans, whose first home, according to Mr. B. G. Tilak, was not in Central Asia, as it is generally believed, but somewhere near the North Pole. Max Müller and many other writers on Vedic mythology have propounded certain theories in order to explain away a number of [illegible] appearing in the Vedas. Thus we have a Dawn theory, and a Storm theory, [illegible]. The first and the third theories have their common origin [illegible] movements of the sun in his daily and seasonal [illegible] the demon of long autumnal nights. The [illegible] Dawn theory," as Mr. Tilak explains, "in order [illegible] for myths to which the latter was obviously inapplicable." There is a fourth theory which attempts "to explain a number of Vedic myths on the hypothesis that they refer to Orion and Aldebaran." Mr. Tilak gives it the name of "Astral Theory" in order to distinguish it from other theories. But then, there is a fifth theory,

[1] "Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore, No. 8, Cuchulainn, the Irish Achilles," by Alfred Nutt.

[2] I am glad to take a note here of my friend Shams-ul-Ulma Ervad J. J. Modi's paper read before the B. B. R. A. Society, entitled "The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch, and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrab," 1892, in which he has very ably compared the two stories.

too, and that theory is of Mr. Tilak's own making. He rejects all the other theories, or rather does not consider them sufficiently strong to be able to explain all the Vedic myths. According to him his new theory, that is, the "Arctic Theory," is the only one by which "a number of facts, which have yet remained unexplained, are satisfactorily and appropriately accounted for."[1]

But, whether this theory or that is right or wrong, it is not my business to say. This much, however, is certain that many a fairy tale, or beautiful episode, or love story, that is found in the folklores of the Aryan races, has its origin in the ancient myths, that are still preserved in the Vedas and the Avesta and the Theogony, and these, again, have their source in solar or meteorological phenomena, which were ever occurring and always puzzling the simple mind of the most primitive Aryan.

[1] "The Arctic Home in the Vedas," p. 245.

On the Accurate Pronunciations of the Avesta

BY

ERVAD SHERIARJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA.

Notwithstanding the marvellous achievement in deciphering the unknown cuneiform inscriptions, which was a consummate triumph of human ingenuity, it is very often not easy to assert confidently the correct pronunciations and accents of a dead and obsolete language, unless means of reading that language are handed down to us from old times, as is the case with Sanskrit and Vedic alphabet, their pronunciations and accents. The language of the Avesta, popularly though erroneously called Zend, is one of the obsolete languages of which some letters are differently pronounced, even among Parsis themselves. It being their sacred language, they have naturally been desirous to ascertain the accuracy of their pronunciations. These few notes are, therefore, intended to briefly investigate this subject.

The indigenous way of teaching the Avesta among the Parsis was oral. It was to make a child imitate to recite what was uttered by the teacher phrase by phrase. Most of the laity were taught to recite only a few pieces of the Avesta, such as Ahunvar, Ashem, Kem-nâ-Mazdâ, etc., which were necessary for their daily devotion, while the priest class was taught to recite larger parts of the Avesta, from Yasna to Khordeh Avesta, requisite for their sacred avocation. All books of the Avesta were written with their proper Avestan characters, and their reading was confined only to the priest class. There were also available in India rare books, wherein some portions of the Khordeh Avesta were written with Gujerati characters. Similarly among the Iranian Parsis there were in use a few books of some parts of the Khordeh Avesta written with modern Persian characters.[1] It was only since the introduction of printing on this side of India, that the Gujerati Khordeh Avesta books became procurable to every Parsi. Gradually the larger Avesta, such as Yasna, Visparad, Vendidâd and bigger Yashts also came to be printed with Gujerati characters. Copies of the Khordeh Avesta with Gujerati characters are printed by

hundreds and thousands, and nowadays one or more copies of the printed Khordeh Avesta can be found in every Parsi house. It is only in the last thirty or forty years that copies, both of the larger and smaller parts, of the Avesta in their original characters have increased among us. The practice at present of teaching to recite the Avesta is from printed books, most of which are in Gujerati characters, and their accuracy is often questionable.

The numbers of letters and sounds in the Avestic alphabet, according to the opinions of different scholars given by Richard Lepsius in his "Das Ursprüngliche Zend Alphabet" (p. 337), are as follows :—

Name.	Letters.	Sounds.
Maśûdî (in the middle of the 10th century A. C.)	60	.....
Anquetil	48	35
Rask	45	43
Burnouf	48	35
Brockhaus	45	43
Spiegel	46	42
Bopp	.....	41
Richard Lepiuss	58	58

The first treatise teaching the pronunciations of Avesta characters in Gujerati was a pamphlet of 43 pages lithographed in Bombay in A. Y. 1216, A. C. 1846, by Peshotun, the son of Dastur Jamshedji, of the family of Dastur Jâmâsp Asâ. Its name is *Varan-hâḍ-e-Avestâk*.[1] This name is Pahlavi, and means a treatise or chapter

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[1] ورنهاد اوستاک

يعني

قاعدهٔ تعليم اوستا

ازبراى آموختن وتربيت كودكان زرتشتيان

از تحقيقات دستور جمشيدجى ايدلجى

مرتّب ساخت اقل العباد پشوتن ولد دستور جمشيدجى

الملقب دستور جاماسپ آسا

در بمبئى دوربين پرس طبع نمود

سنه ١٢١٦ ايزد جرديه

سنه ١٨٤٦ عيسويه

اول بار مطبوع شد

વરનેહાદે અવસતા

ઇચ્યાને

જરતોશતીઓનાં બચ્ચાંઓને અવસતા સીખવાનાં કાએદાની ચોપડી.

દસ્તુર જમશેદજી એદલજીની તપાસ

ઉપરથી

કેમતરીન પશોતંન વલદે દશતુર જંમશેદજી લકએ દસતુર જમાસપ આલાજીનાંએ.

મુમબઈ દુરબીન પરેસના સીલા છાપા

ઉપર પેહલી વાર છપાવી છે.

સને ૧૨૧૬ યજદજરદી.

સને ૧૮૪૬ ઇસવી.

on the Avestic characters; *varan* (=Avesta ; Sanskrit वर्ण) letter, *hâḍ* (= Avesta) chapter, and *avestâk*, the Avesta. This treatise gives the pronunciation of every Avestic letter in Gujerati character, and notes the difference of pronunciation of certain letters, as is in vogue among the Shehenshâhi and the Kadîmi sects of the Parsis. It also teaches the correct pronunciation of and ; and ; , , and ; and ; also the proper places of and .

From A. C. 1861, since the teaching of Avesta grammar was introduced among us, some of our co-religionists, adopting the pronunciations of certain letters according to the results arrived at by European scholars, have called them શુદ્ધ ઉચ્ચાર, *i.e.*, correct pronunciations. This last mode of reading the Avesta constitutes a third kind of Avestic pronunciations besides the Shehenshâhi and the Kadîmi modes of pronunciations.

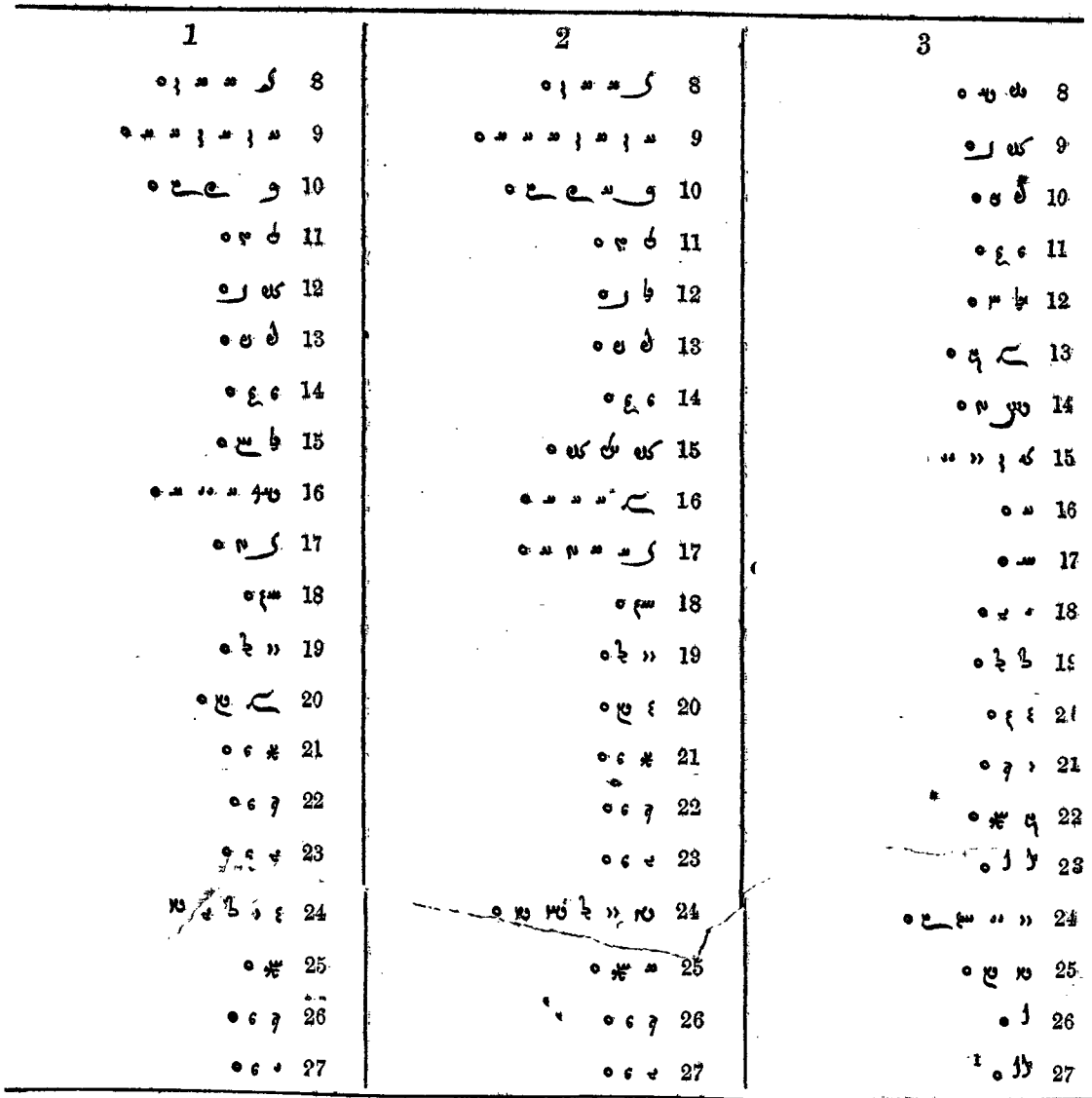
Tables of Avestic alphabet, as met with in old Khordeh Avesta manuscripts and Persian Ravâyets, differ from each other in the order of the succession of letters. Some of these differences may be owing to the ignorance of copyists. We may, however, roughly classify them into four divisions: (1) Old Indian order of alphabet; (2) Old Persian order of alphabet; (3) Alphabet according to the order of , , etc. (4) Alphabet according to the order of Gujerati , .

The following may be taken as the specimens of these orders:—

I. [1]

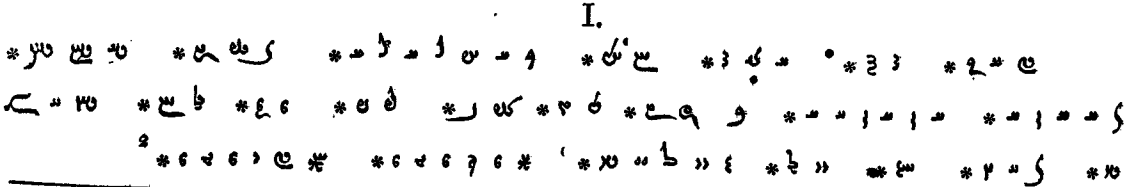
1	2	
1	1	2
2	2	3
3	3	4
4	4	5
5	5	6
6	6	7
7	7	

[1] Das Ursprüngliche Zend Alphabet, Von Richard Lepsius, page 307.



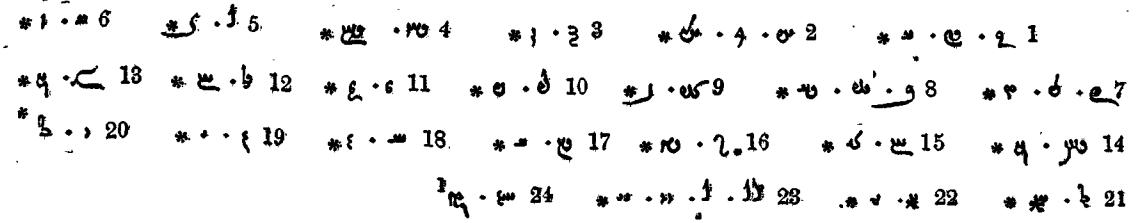
The order of letters in the *Varan-hâḍ* is as follows :—

I.

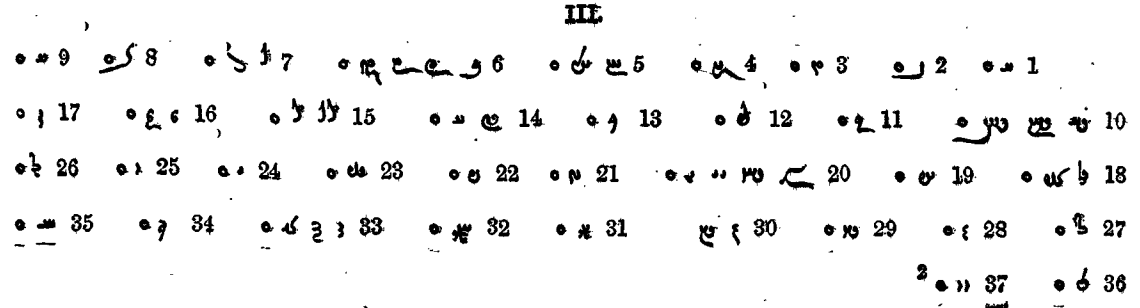


[1] Das Ursprüngliche Zend Alphabet, Von Richard Lepsius, page 307.
[2] *Varan-hâḍ-e-Avestâk*, pp. 11-12.

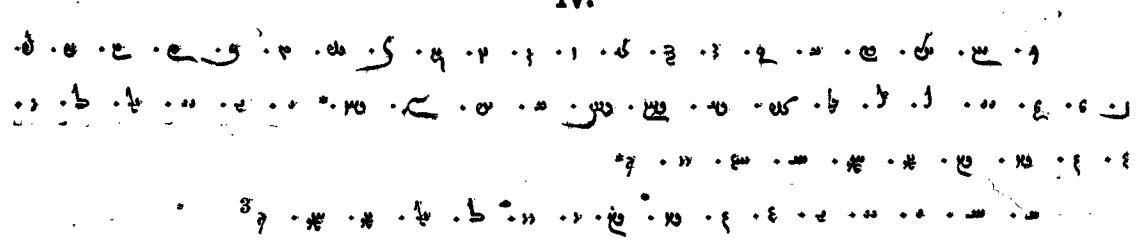
II.



III.



IV.



With a little careful observation one can see that the last two orders of letters must be of very modern time, since the third is according to the modern Persian and the fourth according to the Gujerati arrangement of alphabet. Therefore the first and the second orders of letters must have been older. The arrangement of letters in the first and the second orders is peculiar, beginning with 𐬀, 𐬁, etc., and ending with 𐬹, 𐬺, 𐬻. They have besides certain groupings of letters which we have numbered according to Lepsius. Might these groups be some certain aphorisms like those of Paṇini's अ इ उण्, ऋ ऌक्, etc., called माहेश्वराणि सूत्राणि, or can we discover in them some similarity to the arrangement of letters of Sanskrit grammar in कु, चु, टु, तु, पु classes

[1] *Varan-hâḍ*, pp. 39, 40.

[2] Das Ursprüngliche Zend Alphabet, Von Richard Lepsius, page 307.

[3] *Varan-hâḍ-ê-Avestâk*, pp. 1-2.

in a reverse order, as well as the arrangement of short and long vowels according to the Sanskrit alphabet ? I try to arrange these groups (with a little change of order here and there) in my own way as follows :—

CONSONANTS.

Columns I and II.

कवर्गीय Gutterals—𐬐, 𐬑 [𐬒, 𐬓, 𐬔] 𐬕, 𐬖, groups 1 to 5.

चवर्गीय Palatals—𐬗, [𐬘, 𐬙], 𐬚, 𐬛, 𐬜, groups 6 to 8.

टवर्गीय Linguals—𐬝, 𐬞.

तवर्गीय Dentals—𐬟, 𐬠, 𐬡, 𐬢, 𐬣, 𐬤, groups 9 to 11.

पवर्गीय Labials—𐬥, 𐬦, 𐬧, 𐬨, 𐬩, 𐬪 [𐬫] groups 12 to 14, 15 to 17.

VOWELS.

Columns III and IV.

𐬀 𐬁 𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 𐬅 𐬆 𐬇 𐬈 𐬉 𐬊, groups 16 to 21.

Vowels followed by Nasals generally final.

𐬉𐬀 𐬉𐬁 𐬉𐬂 𐬉𐬃 groups 21 to 27.

Might not this reversion of orders of letters (first 𐬖 and last 𐬐, and so on) be on account of the Iranian mode of writing every line from right to left? If so, is it not possible to suppose from this solitary but suggestive example regarding the places (स्थान), especially those of the *dental* and *labial* consonants, and the indication of the short and long vowels, that in old times there existed an independent and indigenous Avestic grammar ? This is a question which naturally arises in our minds.

The object of this monograph being the investigation of the accuracy of pronunciations of the Avestic alphabet, we shall pass over those letters about whose pronunciations all the three modes of reading current at present agree; and we shall content ourselves only with the investigation of the *correct sounds* of those letters actually met with in our present manuscripts and printed editions of Avesta, about whose pronunciations there exists any difference.

(1) 𐬑 *and* 𐬒.—The difference between the pronunciations of these two characters as "*kh*" and "*khv*" has been noticed by the author of the *Varan-hâḍ*, the

former as equivalent to Gujerati ખ and the latter to Persian خ. Later light of modern philology has shown that the proper pronunciation of the last character is like Persian خو, which is perfectly correct. Further distinction between the pronunciations of ﻫ and ﻫ, the former as "*hv*" and the latter as "*hv* " preceding ◌, is of still more recent origin and is observed by some European scholars. This distinction may be allowed in the writings of the Avesta, but we cannot see any reason to prcnounce them as "*hv*." I am therefore inclined to restrict its sound to the Persian خو. For we Parsis, both the Shehenshâhîs and the Kadîmis, have never pronounced ﻫ and ﻫ as "*hv*," and as to the last sign, the lower horizontal or diagonal line is, in my humble opinion, no more than a flourish of the pen. Another reason in support of rejecting this new pronunciation "*hv* " of ﻫ and ﻫ is this that we have actually in the Avesta ◌ and ◌ for the sounds "*hv* " and "*hy* "; and there is, therefore, no necessity for changing the old mode of pronouncing ﻫ and ﻫ as خو.

(2) ◌.—This character is found in some manuscripts of the Avesta as a substitute for the ordinary ◌, but is not met with in better and more correct copies. It is not used nowadays in our printed editions of the Avesta. Whether it had an ndependent pronunciation of its own or was a mere substitute for ◌ in certain places cannot be ascertained. We shall, therefore, pass it over here.

(3) ◌ ◌ ◌.—The *Varan-hâḍ* gives the pronunciation of these three signs as Gujerati ઙ, which is not quite correct; for they are never followed by any vowel so as to decide their sound to be the soft aspirated gutteral consonant. These signs, as is well known to the students of the Avesta, precede ◌. It is therefore correct to pronounce these letters as gutteral nasal like the Sanskrit *anusvâra*. The distinction between the places of the first and the last signs is also known to the students of the Avesta. The first sign occurs when the following ◌ is preceded and followed by vowels, except ◌, ◌, ◌, or ◌; and the last when ◌ is followed by ◌, which is however dropped. The little stroke from left to right at the foot of the second sign is, in my opinion, a flourish of the pen only.

(4) ◌ *and* ◌.—The second sign is wholly obsolete in our present printed texts. The *Varan-hâḍ* lays down a rule that the second sign must be written before ◌; and in all other places the first sign only. As regards the pronunciations of these two

characters there is no difference. On what ground the *Varan-hâḍ* lays down the above rule is not known.

(5) 𐬛.—The *Varan-hâḍ* says that this letter is never written at the beginning of a word. So far the rule is correct. But when it teaches to read this character as 𐬛 *d* it is at fault; for our modern advance of learning has ascertained its pronunciation to be equivalent to Sanskrit ज्, which is correct. (Compare Avesta 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, etc.) This character more frequently occurs in the later or the younger dialect of the Avesta. Its appearance is less frequent in the Gâthic dialect, wherein its place is very often taken by 𐬛, *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 for 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀.

(6) 𐬛 *final.*—Parsis have always pronounced this character as "*ḍ*". The *Varan-hâḍ* correctly lays down the rule that excepting the two places in the beginning or middle of words, where it appears as 𐬛𐬀 and 𐬛𐬁, this sign is always written at the end of words. Modern philology also conforms to it. I have found in some manuscripts a distinction of writing of this particular character as 𐬛 and 𐬜. The reason of this may be that though in our copies of the Avesta external Sandhi of letters is not observed, still supposing that copies of books containing external Sandhi of letters did formerly exist, we may take according to their usage the pronunciation of the first sign 𐬛 as final "*t*" and of the last as final "*d*".

(7) 𐬝.—This is a conjunct consonant compounded of 𐬵 *h* + 𐬨 *m*. All agree as to its pronunciation as "*hm*". It is, however, less frequently met with in good manuscripts and is almost wholly neglected in our printed texts. If I may be permitted to conjecture, this character may have originated in later Achæmenian times when the "*h*" of "*hm*" in Iranian dialects was in many places dropped; and the writers of Avestic books dropping 𐬵 in writing but indicating its presence in pronunciation may have joined to 𐬨 the downward stroke from left to right.

(8) 𐬘.—Phonologically this character corresponds to Sanskrit भ्, and in form appears to be a combination of 𐬚 + 𐬵 which is the same as भ्. As to its pronunciation, if I may be allowed to theorise, it may be sounded as "*bh*", or a softer Iranian sound approaching to "*b*" or "*v*" + "*h*".

(9) 𐬠, 𐬡, 𐬢, 𐬣.—The *Varan-hâḍ* correctly says that the pronunciation of the first sign 𐬠 is dental. But when it teaches the sounds of the remaining three as that

of lingual ष, corresponding to modern Persian ش with dots, it is not wholly correct. This last sound is correct as regards the second and the third sign only, and not for the last character 𐬱𐬹 which is a compounded form of *sh* + *k*. The *Varan-hâḍ* also points out the different places where each of these characters is to be written. These different places have been more correctly ascertained nowadays than those given by the author of the *Varan-hâḍ*. They are (i) 𐬹 at the end of words and also preceding 𐬵 and 𐬴 in the middle of them; (ii) 𐬹𐬹 preceding vowels and semi-vowels; and (iii) 𐬱𐬹 a compound of 𐬰+𐬵 in the beginning of words.

(10) 𐬀, 𐬁 *and* 𐬂 —The *Varan-hâḍ* as well as all Parsis pronounce these characters as simply the long *i*. They seem never to have recognised the existence of the semi-vowel *y* in the Avesta. Even as late as fifty or sixty years ago among the Parsis the Gujerati semi-vowel ય was absent in its alphabet. Modern philology has, however, ascertained the correct pronunciations and locations of these three signs, *viz.*, 𐬀, 𐬁 as initial and 𐬂 as middle, which is undoubtedly correct and is well known to all students of the Avesta. Still, as regards the last sign 𐬂, I think it would be more accurate to pronounce it in certain places as ઇય્ *iy* and in others as ય *y* only. I shall further on revert to this point.

(11) 𐬃 *and* 𐬄.—All are unanimous as regards the sound of 𐬄 as the long *î*. But the short 𐬃 was pronounced by Parsis, and is still pronounced by some of them unacquainted with the modern studies of the Avesta as એ (sounded like the first *e* in the English word "*ever*"). This way of pronouncing 𐬃 as એ they have erroneously adopted from Gujerati, wherein the short ૬ was pronounced as એ. It is, however, at present fully ascertained that its correct pronunciation is only the short *i*.

(12) 𐬅 *and* 𐬆.—The first sign 𐬅 was pronounced by Parsis, and is still pronounced by some, as ઓ (sounded like "*ou*" in the English word "*ought*"). The origin of this pronunciation is precisely similar to that of the short 𐬃 as એ. For the short vowel ઉ in Gujerati was formerly pronounced by Parsis as ઓ, and they seem to have been led analogously to pronounce the Avestic 𐬅 as ઓ. Grammar as well as phonology have, however, conclusively proved that the proper pronunciation of this letter is short "*u*". The long vowel 𐬆 is pronounced by the Iranian Parsis as wel[1] as the Indian Kadimis as long î ઈ. This mode of pronouncing it cannot be justified

by any means, for Avesta grammar and phonology show this letter to be none else but the long "*û*". There is a rule of the Avestic language that the short final vowels ـَ, ـِ, and ـُ always become long in the Gâthic dialect, *e.g.*, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀, Gâthic 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬰, Gâthic 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬱; 𐬵𐬎𐬀, Gâthic 𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬰, and so on. According to this rule the ordinary final short ـُ is met with in the Gâthic dialect as long 𐬰. This conclusively proves that 𐬰 must be pronounced as ઊ *û*. Hence the Iranian and the Kadîmi pronunciation of this letter as long *î* is decidedly incorrect. The Shehenshâhî pronunciation of 𐬵𐬎𐬀 𐬨𐬹𐬌 as અશેમ વોહૂ "*Ashem vohû*" is correct, while the Kadîmi way of pronouncing it as અશેમ વૂહી "*Ashem vûhî*" is incorrect.

(13) *The middle* 𐬌 *and* 𐬍.—These two characters are never considered as semivowels by Indian Parsis. They pronounce them like long ઈ *î* and long ઊ *û* respectively. The Iranian Parsis and the Kadîmis pronounce the latter like *v* વ્, which seems to be correct, for it is justified by grammar and phonology. I am, however, of opinion that there are certain places in the Avesta where these two semivowels should be pronounced as "*iy*" ઇય્ and "*uv*" ઉવ્ respectively. This point shall be discussed later on.

(14) *The medial* 𐬎 *and the final* 𐬏.—Indian Parsis pronounce these two letters as ઑ *o* and ઓ *ô* respectively, the former as "*au*" in the English word "*caught*" and the latter as "*ô*" in the English word "*open*." Their pronunciation of the former sign 𐬎 cannot be proved grammatically or phonologically to be correct. It is therefore proper, since all scholars are unanimous, to take this sign as another form of 𐬏 *ô*, to be written in the middle part of certain words, *e. g.*, in 𐬵𐬎𐬀 = Sk. उद, etc. The Iranian Parsis and the Kadîmis pronounce both these letters as long "*û*". This way of pronouncing these characters cannot be justified by any rules of grammar or phonology. This incorrect pronunciation of theirs seems to have originated from the transliteration of these letters into the modern Persian character و, which is generally pronounced as long "*û*" (واو معروف) in the southern part of Iran.

(15) 𐬐.—This vowel in its appearance is obviously 𐬀 *â* + 𐬌 *e*, and is so pronounced always, *i.e.*, as "*âe*" by the Iranian and the Kadîmi Parsis. Indian Parsis pronounce this compound vowel as આઓ "*âo*". This way of pronouncing this character can be justified by the analogy of the origin of the final Avestic 𐬏 ઓ *ô* from

𐬀𐬵 અ + : (vîsarga). As 𐬀𐬵 અ + : (vîsarga) has produced the sound 𐬇 એ *ô*, so 𐬁𐬵 આ + : (vîsarga) might also produce the sound 𐬈 આઍ *âo*. The pronunciation of this character by the Iranian and the Kadîmi Parsis as 𐬁𐬌 આઇ *âe* seems more likely to be correct, when we take into consideration the grammatical rule of the dropping of the *Vîsarga* after 𐬁 *â* in several combinations of Sandhi, which omission might have been indicated by ઃ. For ઃ denotes in certain places the omission of a consonant, as we shall see it further on.

(16) 𐬉 *and* 𐬊.—The Iranian and the Kadîmi Parsis pronounce these compound vowels as long *î* and long *û* respectively. This is certainly erroneous, for grammar and phonology prove them to be none else but 𐬇 એ *ae* and 𐬈 એ *ao* respectively as pronounced by the Sheehnshâhi Parsis. This error of the Iranian and the Kadîmi Parsis seems to have its origin from books written with modern Persian characters, wherein they always read ي as *î* (ی معروف) and و as *û* (واو معروف), as pronounced by the people of the southern part of Persia.

Syllables.

The author of the *Varan-hâḍ* seems to know, what is not generally known to those who have printed Avesta books with Gujerati characters, that an Avestic consonant not followed by a vowel must be pronounced as a conjunct one with the following consonant. He has accordingly given some specimens of syllables and words both according to the Indian and the Iranian methods of pronunciations. The following are a few of them:—

[1]

Shehenshâhi	𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬍 𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬏 𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬑 𐬀𐬒 𐬀𐬓 𐬀𐬔 𐬀𐬕 𐬀𐬖	અઇ અઈ અઉ અઊ અએ અઐ અઓ અઔ અક અખ અગ
	𐬀𐬍 𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬏 𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬑 𐬀𐬒 𐬀𐬓 𐬀𐬔 𐬀𐬕 𐬀𐬖	અઈ અઉ અઊ અએ અઐ અઓ અઔ અક અખ અગ
Kadîmi		
Shehenshâhi	𐬀𐬌𐬹 𐬀𐬍𐬹 𐬀𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬏𐬹 𐬀𐬐𐬹	ઓમ્ પૈતે ઐમ મે આઙ
Kadîmi	𐬀𐬌𐬹 𐬀𐬍𐬹 𐬀𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬏𐬹 𐬀𐬐𐬹	ઔમ્ પેતે ઍમ મી આઙ

[1] *Varan-hâḍ*, page 3. [2] *Varan-hâḍ*, page 41.

			Shehenshâhi
નેજ એરેતો	હમૅસ્તો	ગતો	
નેજ એરેતૂ	હમૅસ્તૂ	ગતૂ	Kadîmi
			Shehenshâhi
દેઉઓ	નાઇસમી		
[1] દીવૂ	નાઇસમી		Kadîmi

The only point which remains to be observed here is that the Indian and the Iranian ways of pronunciation form in the case of middle ·· three syllables instead of two according to our modern mode of pronunciation, and the Indian way extends it in the case of » also; *e.g.*, ·····ૅ મઇઅ *maia* and not મય *maya*; ·····ૅ, Indian કઉઅા *kauâ*, Iranian કવા *kavâ*, modern pronunciation કવા *kavâ*. I am inclined to believe that *in some places at least in the Gâthâs and other poetical lines of the Avesta*, also in some words in the prose Avesta, the pronunciation of the middle ·· and » should be ઇ્ય્ *iy* and ઉ્વ્ *uv* respectively. Also in certain words such as ·····ૅ and others, a syllable should be added making them ·····ૅ and so on; and in others some redundant syllables should be dropped according to the exigency of the metre. I give here a few examples :—·····ૅ ·····ૅ *khrafstrâ hizuvâ* (Y. XXVIII., 5); ·····ૅ *yêsniyâchâ* (Y. XXX., 1); ·····ૅ *âramaitish*; ·····ૅ *vâstairiyô* (Y. XXXI, 9); ·····ૅ *hiyat*; ·····ૅ *akhviyâi*; ·····ૅ *vâstriyât*; ·····ૅ *âyâtê* [not ·····ૅ]; ·····ૅ *mahrkaêchâ* [not ·····ૅ] (Y. XXXI., 18); ·····ૅ *vîduvâo* (Y. XXXI., 19); ·····ૅ *auvaêtâs* (Y. XXXI., 20); ·····ૅ *akâat* (Y. XXXII, 3); ·····ૅ *magavanô* [not ·····ૅ] (Y. XXXIII., 7); ·····ૅ *âreshvâ* [not ·····ૅ] (Y. XXXIII., 12); ·····ૅ *stuvatô* [not ·····ૅ] (Y. XXXIV., 15); ·····ૅ *auvâo* (Y. XLIII., 4); ·····ૅ *pourviyem* [not *paourvîm*] (Y. XLIII., 5).

While speaking of metres I cannot miss this opportunity of expressing the sense of gratefulness that all votaries of science, and especially we Parsis, are laid under eternal obligation by European scholars, and chiefly by Dr. Karl F. Geldner of Berlin, since they were the first to open our eyes as regards the subject of the prosody

[1] *Varan-hâd*, page 42.

of the Avesta which was altogether unknown before. And since the exigency of metre requires the shortening or lengthening of the numbers of certain syllables, it would be well if a new edition of our Avesta text be printed with Gujerati or Roman characters pointing out where the middle ·· and ›› should be split into two syllables, as *iy* and *uv* respectively, along with other correct modifications in the orthography and orthoepy of the Avesta. This may also help in some places to discover the way to more clear elucidations of the text.

Epenthesis, Prothesis, and Anaptyxis.

Epenthetic and prothetic · and ›, as is well known to the students of the Avesta, have no grammatical value, being simply, as it were, anticipatory · or › in the case of certain consonants. Complete rules for the insertion or otherwise of these two parasitical vowel-signs have not been yet discovered. As to their origin nothing can be definitely said. Viewing them grammatically they are redundant or unnecessary, and may not be pronounced. I am of opinion that (1) these two letters · and › are merely two signs to show the division of certain parts of words such as roots and primary or secondary terminations, *e.g.*, ; ; ;

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀, etc., I think it is a sign to show (1) that there is a hiatus, or (2) that one of the following consonants occasioned by optionally doubling, as is the case in Sanskrit कर्म्म or कर्म्मं, सर्व्व or सर्वं etc., is dropped. This optional doubling of consonants not being allowed in the Avestic language, this sign perhaps may have been written for it.

The aforesaid three signs also occur in certain places, such as in the words 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 for 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 ; 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 for 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 ; 𐬀𐬵 for 𐬀𐬵 ; 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵 for 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵, and so on. In such places they must have been inserted by the later general tendency of the Iranian tongue, still appearing among the Parsis, which is to split conjunct consonants, mostly the initial ones, and to insert a vowel within, *e.g.*, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 Pers. ; 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 Pers. ; 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 Pers. ; 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀, Pers. , and so on.

In concluding this paper, somewhat dry to the general reader but useful as a suggestive contribution to the advance of our Avestic studies, I have only to add that it is written by me purposely with the view to help my co-religionists in arriving at the correct pronunciations of their sacred Scripture, especially when at present there seems a general desire in our community to remove ignorance, errors, and inaccuracies in religious matters.

Bombay, 5th May 1906.

Analogies in Iranian and Armenian Folklore

BY

DR. EUGENE WILHELM, PROFESSOR OF IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA, JENA, GERMANY.

The Armenians, whose language P. DE LAGARDE[1] and Friedrich MÜLLER[2] declare IRANIAN, and H. HÜBSCHMANN[3] characterizes as a self-dependent member of the Indo-Arian linguistic family, were in consequence of the geographical position of their country, which was on the main road between the east and the west from ancient times, in contact with nations of different races and civilisation. One may even say, that the civilisation and the political development of the country were always under foreign influence. Babylonian and Assyrian influences are proved from the 9th century B. C. downwards, for the kings of Wan left cuneiform inscriptions as monuments of their proud victories. But the reigns of the Achæmenian kings and their successors, the Arsacides and Sassanides (from the 5th century B. C. to the 7th century A. D.), influenced most deeply the life, religion, political organisation, jurisdiction of the Armenians and especially their language. The A... Bagrat CHALATIANZ[4] endeavoured recently, by tracing Iranian... Armenian folklore, to prove that the Iranian influences extended a gre... These Armenian legends, known by the name of the legends of RUSTAM-I-ZAL, relate not only the deeds of the Iranian hero Rustam, but also those of the other Persian Pehlvâns, with whom the Armenian hero has many traits in common. Several

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[1] *Cf.* P. DE LAGARDE, Armenische Studien. I. Teil. Göttingen, 1877.

[2] Fr. MÜLLER, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, I Bd. I. Teil. Wien, 1876. S. 97.

[3] H. HÜBSCHMANN, Armenische Studien. Leipzig, 1883.

[4] B. CHALATIANZ, Iranische Helden im armenischen Volke. Russian Review "Ethnographische Uebersicht," hrg. von der Kaiserl. Ethnogr. Gesellschaft, Moskau 1900, XII Vol., 45. The same: "Die armenische Heldensage" Zeitschrift für vergleichende Volkskunde XII, 1902. "Die iranische Heldensage bei den Armeniern," *ibidem* XIV, 1904.

episodes from the life of Rustam are bodily taken over into the Armenian epos. The popularity of the Iranian heroic legends among the Armenians is an important fact, and its consequence was, that the Armenian national hero, though impregnated with the character of the Iranian heroes, remained nevertheless the favourite of his own people.[1] This is all very easy to understand. In the remotely situated country of Armenia with its quiet, patriarchal life, the remembrance of the old heroic times could certainly more easily be preserved than in other countries that were sooner carried on by the current of modern civilisation. But not only are the Iranian heroic legends, which were formerly recited by professional minstrels (Gusans), remembered among the people of Armenia and among simple peasants, even nowadays, but the influences of the Iranian religion may likewise still be traced in the popular Armenian belief, as Dr. Manuk ABEGHIAN[2] points out in his treatise. Following this young Armenian scholar, I will try to point out several analogies in Armenian and Iranian folklore.

The principal point in the Armenian popular belief is, as among the Iranians, the belief about the opposition between light and darkness, or between the spirits of light, whose names are mostly Christian, and the bad spirits, the black *devs*, roving about, invisible or sometimes visible, in various shapes in the air, the water, the earth and human dwelling places. There is a struggle between the spirits of [illegible] are friendly to man and protect him, and the dark demons, who are his [illegible] him injury. Every blessing, such as life, daylight, joy and happiness [illegible]uated by the spirits of light; and every bad thing, such as [illegible], sickness, and misfortune is caused by the evil spirits of the night. [illegible]erefore the black, smoky *devs* are feared, but not worshipped. Light, which is the supreme God, only is worshipped. The one, good God, who rules the world and has given unto man his luminous belief and his law of righteousness, is also conceived under the idea of light. He has under his command and in his service hosts of angels and saints. It is even so with the idea of God

[1] Moses of Khorene (5th century) remarks to the young prince Saak BAGRATUNI: If you like I will relate to you about the hero TORK, incredible and absurd things as the Persians do relate about ROSTOM SAGTSCHICK, asserting that he possessed the strength of 120 elephants. *Cf.* MOSES CHORENAZI, Geschichte Armeniens. Venedig, 1881. S. 174= Langlois Collection II, 84.

[2] "Der armenische Volksglaube." Leipzig, 1899. 127 S.

in the religion of Zarathustra. "Ahura Mazda is the one God, the Creator, the Ruler and Preserver of the Universe, without form, and invisible. To Him is assigned a place above all, and to Him every praise is to be given for all the good and for all the blessings we enjoy in this world. He is the source of immense light from which all glory, bounty and goodness flow. He is represented as the mightiest, the most just, and the most benevolent. His mercies are as boundless as His being."[1] Upon a golden throne, under golden beams, and a golden canopy sits Ahura Mazda together with the six Amesha-Spentas, the Archangels (*cf.* Yt. XV, 2; XVII, 9), after whom range the Yazatas or angels as the third in the rank.

Heaven, paradise and hell are conceived by the Armenians in the same way as by the Iranians. Heaven is represented as a town, sometimes called the "inestimable town." The Iranian exterior heaven, which the later Parsi writings distinguish from an interior one, where the stars are fixed and which is always in motion, is *Asman*, a word that in the Armenian dialect of Arçax occurs for *heaven*, a protecting wall of blue stones for keeping off the evil spirits (*cf.* W. GEIGER, Ostiranische Kuttur, pp. 304–5). According to this conception, the celestial town of the Armenians is surrounded by high-heaped masses of stones, provided with brazen gates. Thorns are fastened at the gates to drive away "the evil eye" and all evil spirits and to prevent their entrance. The celestial town has the aspect of a luminous temple or a radiant palace. It is a place and home of immortality. All is light and brightness and glory. There is no darkness and no cold. Around this celestial building spreads afar the paradise of immortality or paradise of light. There are various trees and plants blooming eternally and spreading perfumes of immortality. Under these trees flows the "milk-fountain," likewise called "fountain of immortality." In this paradise of light, dwell the angels and the blessed who have themselves become angels. They wear on their heads imperishable wreaths of light and are seated on radiant chairs around a golden table full of delicious, or according to Old-Armenian conception,

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[1] *Cf.* D. F. KARAKA, History of the Parsis, II, p. 185, quotation from HAUG'S essays.

imperishable dishes and fruit.[1] The blessed taste the fruit and drink the water from the milk-fountain of immortality. The angels and the blessed are incessantly singing hymns of praise to God, who is seated in the temple of light on a golden throne amidst the radiant light.

It is in heaven, which is the dwelling-place of God and the heavenly beings, as the earth is the dwelling-place of men, that we have to imagine according to the Avesta the site of the paradises, the highest of which is Garônmâne, the radiant abode, where the pious deceased go to, the house of praises, as the name may be translated. Here everything is light, brightness and glory. Here Ahura Mazda sits enthroned together with all the gods, praised by the hymns of the blessed. In the same way Iahwè, who like Ahura Mazda is the Supreme Being, the Lord of the whole universe, in whose hands are all the creatures, is, as we see in the books of the Old Testament, in his holy palace in heaven on his throne, surrounded by the princes of the angels, *i.e.*, archangels, שרים. (*Cf.* Ps. XI, 4; XVIII, 7. Daniel X, 13.) Michael is called אחד השרים הראשנים, one of the first archangels, because in the Old Testament also there are different ranks of angels. In Tobit XII, 15, is written: ואני הוא רפאל המלאך אחד מן השרים המשרתים לפניכסא הכבוד I am Raphael, one of the seven angels, who are ministering before the face of the Lord of the Divine Majesty. In the palace of Iahwe everyone exclaims: Glory! (Ps. XXIX, 9.) In Targ. Genes. 32, 36, are mentioned even the special hours of the day when the מלאכיא משבחיא offer up their praises to God.

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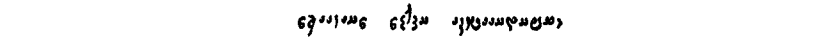
[1] The Old-Armenian word *anušak* has the same signification as Zd. אנושׁ, Pahl. אנוש immortal, imperishable, but in Neo-Armenian *anusak, anoiš*, means only *fragrant, savoury*, as the compounds *anušaboir, anušaburak*. In other passages, where *anušak*, according to ČAXČAX (Dizionario armeno-italiano, Venezia, 1887), means *gustoso dolce*, etc., it belongs to *anoiš*; *cf.* HÜBSCHMANN, Armenische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 99-100; ABEGHIAN, p. 27, note 1. Therefore, *anušak kerakur* means *imperishable food* = savoury food, delicious food. In the Arda Viraf Nameh (ed. Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji JAMASP ASA, Bombay, 1902) we find (X, 3) אנוש *anôsh*, the beverage producing immortality, and with FIRDUSI, ed. Vullers, I, 257, 233:

انوشه بزي تو كه امروز جنگ ∴ بتنگ اندر آورد پور پشنگ

Opposed to paradise is HELL, the dreadful place of eternal darkness, in Armenian *dzoẋk*, Np. دوزخ, *dôzax*, Paž. *dôzax*, Phl. 𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧, *dôšaxv*, in the inscriptions of the Sassanides *dôšaxvî*, Av. 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌 (Yt. XIX, 44) Geldner:



"I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from dreary hell." *Cf.* HÜBSCHMANN, a. a. o. p. 142; Vend. XIX, 47: 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌 ···· 𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌, the Daêvas ran away into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell; Yt. IV., 7: 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌. *Cf.* BARTHOLOMAE, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1905, s. v. *daozahva*; Grundriss d. iran. Phil. I, 156, 30a. For the Armenians, Hell is an abyss beneath the earth, divided into seven degrees and it holds, like a strong prison, the bad black spirits and the guilty evil-smelling souls that are given up to the hands of innumerable devils immediately after their death. Everywhere the fire is burning in the stoves and spreads a dense and almost palpable smoke which increases the torments of darkness. Nevertheless one sees in the dim light, how the poor souls, who have iron shoes in their feet and their mouth full of vermin, are tormented. Here, one devil strikes them with a leaden whip; there, another one renders iron staffs red hot and burns therewith their sides; then a third one tears their flesh with tongs. Other souls are seated up to the neck into cauldrons filled to the brim with boiling tar. The seven-headed fiery dragon opens his immense mouth to swallow the soul. He breathes fire and burns the souls who fly from him terrified. But the only way out that they can find is the bridge MAZÊ over the fire-stream between paradise and hell. But scarcely have they set foot upon it when it breaks under the weight of their sins and they fall into the fire-stream. Then they are again tormented until God has mercy upon them and enlightens them.

Opposed to GARÔNMÂNA,[1] the place of eternal light, the handsome dwelling-place, the dwelling-place of good thoughts, the best world or heaven, where Ahura Mazda dwells in eternal joy (*cf.* Yt. 22, 15; Yaçna 45, 8; 30, 14; 32, 15; 46, 16),

[1] *Cf.* A. V. W. JACKSON, Die iranische Religion, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, Vol. II., p. 685.

is the HELL in the Avesta, the house of lie, the dwelling of the worst thoughts, the worst life (*cf.* Ys. 51, 14; 32, 13; Vd. 3, 35). As in the paradise of the Armenians, the pious get savoury food and delicious fruit, so in the hell of the Avesta the sinners have bad food and have to endure mockery (*cf.* Ys. 51, 20; 49, 11). The description given in the ARDÂ-I-VIRAF of hell and of the punishments awarded therein to the wicked bears, as Dr. Haug says, "a striking resemblance to the accounts to be found in DANTE's INFERNO. In some points it resembles the vision of the prophet ISAIAH in the Old Testament." (*Cf.* D. Fr. KARAKA, Hist. of the Parsis, Vol. II., p. 196. G. MADDOX, The Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh, or the Revelations of Ardâî Virâf, etc. Madras, 1904.)

It cannot be denied that Christianity and Islam have influenced the Armenian ideas of heaven and hell, but undoubtedly several particulars are older, for, together with the ancient words borrowed from other languages: *asman* (at least in one Armenian dialect), *anušak*, *dzoxk*, *t'onir*,[1] the Iranian belief in heaven, hell and paradise were likewise taken up by the Armenians. According to ABEGHIAN, p. 5, every far-spread belief in Armenia ought to be considered as Armenian popular belief, even if it is of foreign origin. The language may serve as a means of distinguishing the foreign elements from the Armenian or the Armenianised. While, for instance, the Old Iranian words borrowed in the Armenian language are long since Armenianised, many current words of Arabic, Neo-Persian and especially of Turkish origin, are considered, if not always by the common people, at least by the upper classes, as foreign words. So *e.g.*, the word *t'onir*, which is borrowed from the Iranians and used already in the fifth century, is held to be Armenian, while the word *ǒjax*,[2] the hearth, taken from the Tartaric tribes, is usually not considered as Armenian. For this reason only the old *t'onir* is considered as holy everywhere

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[1] This word of Semitic origin means "baker's oven, stove, a portable stove." It is the same word as the Avestic 𐬞𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬵, Vendid. 8, 91, Phl. תנור, Np. تنور or تنور, Hebr. Aram תַּנּוּר, Arab. تنور *Cf.* SPIEGEL, Kommentar z. Avesta I, p. 265, and HUEBSCHMANN, Arm. Gramm. p. 155; Glossary and Index of the Pahlavi texts by E. W. WEST, Bombay-London, 1874.

[2] *Cf.* Dictionnaire Turc-Francais par I. D. KIEFFER et T. X. BIANCHI, p. 121: اوجاق, odjâg, 1, cheminée, foyer; (2) caste, maison, famille.

in Armenia. It is erected in the midst of the house and built into the floor. It equals the church in holiness. The spirits of the house, the Manes, probably dwell near it and have their sacrifices on occasion of the family feasts, *e. g.*, a wedding.

Like the Avesta doctrines, which are known from Yt. 22 and the Minokhired, and which are, to a certain extent, seen among the Muhammedans,[1] the Armenians believe that the soul of a deceased lingers for three days in the neighbourhood of the body.[2] On the fourth day at dawn it sets out on its way to the place of judgment, accompanied by two angels, a good and a bad one. Sometimes both are considered as protecting angels, of whom the one protects the soul and the other the body (ABEGHIAN, p. 16, 18). The march to the place of judgment lasts seven days. The bad angel with the help of other bad spirits assails the pious soul and tries to make it his own, but the good angel repels him with his fiery sword and protects the soul. So the soul proceeds to the fatal bridge of judgment, called *Mazê* in Armenian, *činvato peretu* in the Avesta.[3] As with the Iranians, the judgment is held before the gates of heaven that are in the East. It is described in the same manner as in the Avesta and the co-lateral literature. The good and bad deeds of man are weighed in the balance of justice, which, according to the Iranians, is in the hands of *Rashnu razishta*, the just. The final sentence depends upon the rising or sinking of the impartially weighed scales.[4] The bad angels bring forward their charges against the soul, while the good ones, especially VIRGIN MARY, defend it, just as, in the Avesta, *Mithra* and *Sraosha* plead in

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[1] See JUSTI, Geschichte des alten Persiens, Berlin 1879, p. 90.

[2] *Cf* Yt. 22, 1-6, 19-24; 24, 53-54. Vd. 19, 28. Ardâî-Viraf 4, 8-14; 17, 2-9. Minokh. 2, 114, 158-161. Dd. 24, 1-4; 25, 1-4. SPIEGEL, Erân-Altertumsk II. 149 ff. GEIGER, OK, p. 263, 276 ff. J. DARMESTETER, Le Zend-Avesta, Traduction nouvelle, etc., Paris 1892. JACKSON, Grundriss d. ir. Ph. II, 684, 685.

[3] See Yasna 51, 13; 46, 10-11; 71, 16. Vd. 19, 30. Dâdistân-i Dinik 24, 5. D. F. KARAKA, History of the Parsis, II, pp. 192-193.

[4] JACKSON: Weighing the soul in the balance after death, an Indian as well as Iranian idea, Actes du Xme. Congr. des Orient. II, 65, 74. How these ideas are traceable in Christianism is shown by several middle-age representations of the final judgment, where the Archangel MICHAEL is seen in the midst of the scene with the balance of justice in his hands. The remorse of the soul on this last way is described as most dreadful. Ardâi Virâf 5, 6. Mkh. 2, 19, 122. Dd. 8, 1.

favour of the soul, while the bad spirits accuse it. The souls of the just, whose good actions weigh heavier, enter paradise after having passed the bridge *Mazê* without hazard, and the guilty go to hell because the bridge is too narrow for them or cannot endure the weight of their sins. It breaks and the soul falls into the fire-stream that flows beneath the bridge between paradise and hell. But those who are neither guilty nor innocent, whose good and evil actions counterbalance each other, remain behind the paradise, between paradise and hell. "In right logical consequence," says JACKSON,[1] "Zoroastrism supposes a third place for those cases where the good and bad actions of a life are of precisely the same weight." This place is known in Pahlavi by the name of "*Hamêstakān*," the ever-stationary or equilibrium.[2] Already in the Gâthâs this intermediate place is alluded to; the idea, therefore, is not new. This third state, a sort of purgatory, is imagined as an intermediate place between earth and the starry region. Here the soul has no worse troubles than the change between heat and cold produced by the different seasons, and here it must await the general resurrection and the final judgment.[3] In the Avesta, MITHRA, the god of the morning-sun, is the principal judge of the souls that are weighed before the bridge and is assisted by SRAOSHA and RASHNU; with the Armenians it is CHRIST who is seated on the rising sun.

Closely and most naturally connected with the belief into the immortality of the soul is the worship of the souls of the deceased. With all Indo-German tribes the cult of the MANES was naturally a family-and-tribe

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[1] *Cf.* JACKSON, Grundr. d. ir. Phil. II, 685. Besides see "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten herausgegeben unter Redaktion von P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, Tübingen, 1905, where II, 218-226, the Iranian ideas about death, the other world, and the last things are treated.

[2] Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji JAMASP ASA in his edition of the Ardâî-Virâf, VI, 3 s.v. [illegible] quotes E. WEST "The ever-stationary—the intermediate place for those not good enough for heaven, and not bad enough for hell where such souls remain in a passive immovable state till the resurrection." See CASARTELLI, tr. Dastur Piroz Mazda-Yasnian Religion, pp. 194-196. ROTH, Z. D. M. G. XXXVII, 5,223. BARTHOLOMAE, A. F., III, 61 seq. De HARLEZ, Z. D. M. G. XXXVI, 627-631. BB. IX, 294-299. IF. III, 169-170. MILLS, S. B. E. XXXI, note 3. MODI, Parsee System, in World's Parliament of Religions, II, 905-906. J. DARMESTETER, Le Z. A. III, 47, translates Ardâî-Virâf VI, 8-12. (V. Dink. VIII, 14, 8); II, 650, note 16.

[3] *Cf.* Ardâî-Virâf 6, 1-12. Mkh. 7, 18-19; 12, 14. According to Dd. 24, 6 and 33, 2, *Hamêstakân* is divided into two parts: one for the somewhat good, the other for the somewhat bad one. See JACKSON, *ibid.* p. 685, note.

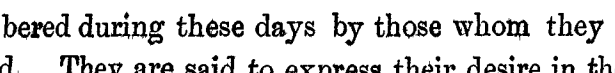
worship.[1] Five times during the year, the day after the five great festivals is consecrated to the memory of the deceased. (The Romans used to sacrifice to the Manes on the occasion of the so-called "*Feralia*"; the Indians offer up sacrifices, prayers and worship to their *Pitris*, and the Parsis to the *Fravashis*). Already on Saturday, the eve of the feast, the souls, according to Armenian belief, descend from heaven to earth and abide in the neighbourhood of the tombs or in the habitations of their relations. Their memory ought to be worshipped on this evening with incense and candles. The perfume of the incense is agreeable to the souls, because the *incense-tree* grows also in paradise. The souls are also universally worshipped in Armenia on the eve of other festivals and on every Saturday. Usually incense is burnt at home on the hearth with prayers for them, or one lays fire on a plate, puts the incense upon it and carries it about in the house, in all corners, in the stable and everywhere where the souls are believed to be. The *Manes* are worshipped in the most solemn way in the cemetery on *All Souls' Day*, as they like best to stay near their graves. The souls of the beloved dead see the survivors and rejoice to see that they are remembered. To make them delighted, wood and incense are brought and burnt at the head of every tomb.

The *Manes* stay on the earth for three days. On the third day they return to heaven blessing their descendants. But the souls of those who were not remembered by their relations curse them and go sadly away. Also on other days the souls come to visit their relations and render them various service. Especially the souls of fathers assist their sons. They receive therefore peculiar worship, their graves are held holy and one swears on their souls or their graves. "Upon the soul of my father" (literally: the soul of my father be wi[illegible] "upon the grave of my father or grandfather," are the usual ways of swearing. The souls of the parents are even invoked to help in distress and they do so. For all this we can trace analogies with the Parsis. "It should be stated," says KARAKA I, 212-13, "that the Parsis do not forget their deceased relations who have quitted this sublunary world for another. Ceremonies are performed by the well-to-do on every day during the first year and on every

[1] See GEIGER OK, p. 287.

anniversary of the melancholy event. The last ten days of the Parsi year are specially dedicated to the memory of the dead, and the ceremonies then performed are known as the *Fravârdîgân*,[1] or *Muktad*,[2] as they are popularly called.

"According to the 13th section of the Fravardin Yasht, the souls of the departed desire to be remembered during these days by those whom they lived with and left behind in this world. They are said to express their desire in the following words:



"Who will praise us? Who will offer to us? Who will consider us his own? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with hands bearing food and bearing clothes? And who will pray for us?

"This passage explains, to a great extent, the ceremonies of the Fravardîgân during the ten days when one of the rooms of the house is thoroughly cleaned, whitewashed, and set apart. In it, every morning the choicest flowers and best fruit of the season are placed in trays upon stands, and prayers are offered during the day. The room thus specially sanctified is made as fragrant and appropriate for the purpose as possible, in order that the memory of the dead may be revered, and that the living may be able to pray for their dead relatives in an earnest, quiet, and composed frame of mind.

"Fruit and flowers are essential in most of the Parsi ceremonies for either the dead or the living. The practice of performing ceremonies and saying prayers for the dead is much insisted upon among the Parsis. It is also affirmed in Pehlvi books that the souls of the dead are extremely gratified and [illegible] in heaven at seeing that the dear ones on this earth have not forgotten them, and that their memory is preserved in the minds of their relations."

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[1] See SPIEGEL, E. A. II, 91-97. GEIGER. OK, 286-94. J. DARMESTETER, Le Z. A. II, 154, 503 and note 11; 518-519. E. W. WEST, Grundr. d. iran. Phil, II, 104, § 47. JACKSON, *ibidem* II, 643.

[2] See SHAPURJI EDALJI गुजराती-इङ्ग्रेजी कोष, London 1808, sec. edit. s. v., मुअत्त (not fr. मरण, because the popular notion is that the spirits of the dead are released for some time every year). An anniversary ceremony among the Parsis in commemoration of the dead. *Cf.* the Sanscrit words मुक्ति, liberation, releasement from worldly bonds, beatitude; मुक्त, मुक्तात्मन् liberated, released, Pers. [illegible]. The Gujer. મુક્તી, Sk. मुक्ति, means final beatitude, the delivery of the soul from the body and exemption from further transmigration. See the Gujrati-English Dictionary by Mirza Mahomed CAUZIM—Nowrozjee FURDOONJEE.

The sun as the orb of the day, giving light and warmth, the moon as the light of the night, regulating the time by its increasing or waning, have from the most ancient times been the object of worship. Both are often invoked in the Avesta, the sun as the resplendent, as one of the rapid steeds, and as the eye of Ahura Mazda, and the moon as 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀, which contains the seed of the kine. (Ys. I, 11; DARMEST. Le Z. A. II, 285, note 28.) The Khôrshêd Yasht and Khôrshêd Nyâyish are dedicated to the sun, and the Mâh Yasht and the Mâh Nyâyish to the moon.

In the popular belief of the Christian Armenians, traces may be found, even nowadays, of the worship of the sun, called *arev*, and of the moon, called *lusin*, which are personified and considered as brother (the sun) and sister (the moon). The sun figures often in their hymns as the symbol of divine grace. It is a misfortune to die without having turned one's face towards the sun. The Armenians bury their dead only when the sun shines; he who prays outside the church raises his eyes to the sun. The bed of the sick, and the coffin of the dead are carefully turned towards the east. The newly-married couple must turn their looks towards the east before stepping into the nuptial bed. (SPIEGEL, EA II., 69 ff.) But the veneration of the moon is still more popular, as pointed out by ABEGHIAN (page 47) the new moon, which is usually invoked, is considered as salutary in its effects. But the moon is not always favourable: when in its other quarters, it is sometimes favourable and sometimes not so. The good or bad influence of the day depends on it. This idea of recognising a difference in the days, which is called day-charm or moon-charm, and which is not peculiar to the Armenians, was wide-spread in Armenia from ancient times.

Whether, at a remote epoch, the Avesta people gave, like the Babylonians, to the moon, the precedence over the sun (see JASTROW, Die Religion Babyloniens and Assyriens, 1905, page 72) cannot be proved from the Avesta. In the writings of the younger Avesta, where the religion of Zoroaster does no longer appear in its original state, but has in the course of time lost a part of its old traditions and taken up various new elements (see GELDNER, Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, p. iv) the moon indeed is named in two passages before the sun. For example, in Yt. VI., 5, the friendship of Mithra is spoken of, as existing between the moon and the sun

(𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌). In the Vishtâsp Yasht (XXIV, 13) we read: Do thou praise him who keeps and maintains the moon and the sun. But in Yt. 13, 16; Ys. 16, 4; Vend. 9, 161, we find the successive order as that of sun, moon and stars, while in Vend. 2, 132; 11, 3; Ys. I., 45; II., 45; VII. 13; Yt. X, 145; XII., 25, 32-34; XIII., 57, stars, moon and sun are mentioned in the inverted order. Therefore I do not think it momentous that in both passages the moon is named first. It is certain that in the latest times of the Sassanides, who called themselves brothers of the moon and wore a crescent on their diadem as we see from their coins, the cult of the moon became more and more important. The Zoroastrian religion had also been propagated in Armenia, not indeed in the time of the Achæmenians, but under the reign of the Parthians. VALARSCHAK I., the first Arsacidian king of Armenia, is said to have created images of the sun and moon and of his ancestors in a great temple in Armenia.[1] It is indeed possible that the cult of the moon-god was transmitted to Armenia from Babylonia. In UR, the sun-god *Schamasch* was early worshipped together with the moon-god *Sin*, but the Babylonians gave to the moon the precedence over the sun. The last named is expressly called "offspring of the lord of the bright commencement," *viz.*, the moon-god (DELITZSCH, Assyr. Handw. 234ª). One of the kings of the *Isin* dynasty calls the sun-god "the offspring of *Nannar* one of the names of the moon-god, and the last king of Babylon, *Nabonnedos*, does the like. When both divinities are named together, the moon-god has the precedence over *Schamasch*, and when the whole Pantheon is enumerated in the inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the same order is observed. A further testimony for the higher rank of *Sin*, the moon-god, in Babylon is the computation of time according to the moon-phases, the moon being on account of the regularity of its changes a better guide for men than the sun. The worship of the moon-god was not confined to Ur; *Harran* was likewise celebrated for moon-worship, but the cult at Ur outshone every other and its glory and importance eclipsed the cult of the moon at all other places." (See JASTROW, I., 66, 67, 72, 73.)

[1] See JUSTI, Iran. Namenbuch s. v., p. 346; id. Grundr d. ir. Ph. II, 490, 491, 506; Geschichte d. alten Persiens p. 73.

Recently HUSING has expressed the opinion (*Iranischer Mondkult*, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft IV., 349–357) that the moon played a part of considerable importance in the Iranian religion. The orb which, in the stereotype relief representations of the Achæmenian tombs at *Naksh-i-Rustam*, floats in the air above the fire altar, is, according to him, intended for the moon, and the whole scene a representation of the Haoma-sacrifice. In STOLZE'S well-known work, the author believes to recognize on the first tomb of Persepolis the crescent at the base of the orb. In DIEULAFOY'S book (L'Art Antique de la Perse, Achémenides, Parthes, Sassanides, Paris 1884-86) the half-circle, as the author says, may be seen quite distinctly, for example, in Plate IV., Tombeau de Darius. DIEULAFOY speaks of it plainly as the "*disque lunaire*" (III. partie, p. 4). Hitherto most scholars took this orb or rather globe for an emblem of the sun. KER-PORTER[1], who visited and designed the tombs, says in his description of this first tomb-relief as follows: "A pedestal of three steps is surmounted by an altar evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top; high over it, to the right, we see a *globular shape*, doubtless intended for the sun, of which the fire below was the offspring and the emblem." SPIEGEL (Erân. Altertumsk. III., 810) says: "A globe which no doubt is intended for an emblem of the sun or of Mithra." Also WEISSBACH (Grundr. d. ir. Phil. II, 57) takes the disk for the sun, and the learned Parsee, K. D. KIASH[2], who like WEISSBACH, visited these tombs on the spot, expresses himself as follows. "Opposite him (*i.e.*, the king), on a platform, is a burning censer, on the top of which is an emblem of the rising sun." On the excellent reproduction which KIASH gives on Plate XLVII., a shade is drawn into the circle above the fire-altar, which has, I believe, no other purpose than to point out that the emblem is a *globe* and not a mere circle. A photographical reproduction of this, representing a globe, will show on the right or the left side and beneath, according to the distribution of light, a shade which may be mistaken for a crescent. No doubt a celestial orb is represented here, but the crescent

[1] Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., Vol. I., pp. 516 524. See also KOSSOWICZ, Inscript. Palæo-Persicæ Achaemenidarum, Petropoli 1872, Interpret et Commentarii descriptiones Naqsh-i-Rustami, p. 86.

[2] Ancient Persian Sculptures: or the Monuments, Buildings, Bas-Reliefs, Rock Inscriptions, etc., belonging to the Kings of the Achæmenian and Sassanian Dynasties of Persia, by K. D. KIASH, Bombay, 1889, p. 140.

which HUESING professes to see in STOLZE's work is, I think, nothing else but the shade of the globe which the photographical reproduction gives and must give. Perhaps the difference between the representations of STOLZE and DIEULAFOY may be explained by the different distribution of light on the occasion fo photographing. As favourable to HUESING's view may be considered the passages in *Herodotus*[1] and *Curtius*,[2] and also the notice of *Masûdi*, that *Manushchitra* had built the temple of Balch in honour of the moon. Lastly, we must bear in mind the prominent place which the moon worship undoubtedly held in very ancient times in Babylonia, Armenia and in Persia under the Sassanides. If HUESING is right, the moon-cult of the Iranians should have existed already at the time of Darius I. Also CHRISTENSEN[3] thinks it not improbable that at any rate in the time of Zoroastrianism, the cult of the moon-god was so to say closely connected with fire-worship.

The veneration of fire, especially of the fire of the hearth, is one of the most ancient religious conceptions of the Indo-Germans. We are not astonished, therefore, to find it also in the Avesta, which preaches everywhere the veneration for the element of fire. In Bombay and elsewhere places are dedicated for this purpose, which are called fire-temples. The name "fire-temple" surprises one, as intimating an unusual form of divine worship, and the Parsis have therefore often been called "*fire-worshippers.*" But even in early times Mahomedan writers have endeavoured to defend the Parsis from this charge. The great Persian poet Firdausi says in his Shâh-nâmeh:

مگوی که آتش پرستان بودند ∴ پرستندگان پاک یزدان بودند [4]

It will suffice to say that the Parsis do not worship fire as a divinity. Fire nsidered by Zoroaster as the purest SYMBOL of the Divinity, and is ned by the Parsis of the present day to be the emblem of refulgence, glory

[1] See VII., 37. γεγοντες ἡλιον εἶναι Ἑλληνων προδεκτορα, σεληνην δε σφεων

[2] IV., 10, 6: Adfirmant solem Græcorum lunam esse Persarum, quoties illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi.

[3] Orientalistische Literaturzeitung VII., p. 49-52: Die Moschee *Mâh* in Buhârâ. *Cf. ibid.* p. 133. HUESING, Der Tempel des Mâh von *Balh-Baktra.*

[4] KARAKA translates: "Say not that they (the Persians) were worshippers of fire, they were worshippers of one God."

and light, the truest symbol of God, the invisible Creator of the universe. Therefore the observances paid to fire are more prominent than other parts of the Avesta Ritual.[1] Remnants of this veneration have been retained by other Indo-German tribes as also by the Armenians down to the present day. They swear upon the hearth-fire, which is considered as the holy religious emblem of the family (see "Mitteilungen der Wiener Anthropolog Gesellschaft" XXII, 145). In some places it is thought sinful to say, "Extinguish the fire!" One says instead merely, "Bless the fire!" The Armenian popular belief sees in fire also an important means of defence. It drives away the evil spirits and protects men, especially in the night, when the bad spirits are everywhere, save in the fire (*cf.* ABEGHIAN, pp. 66-67).

By daily use and by the vicinity of things thought unclean, as for example, in Iran, by the vicinity of the corpse (*cf.* GEIGER, OK. p. 258. Grundr. d. ir. Ph. II., 299, 681. RAPP, ZDMG. XX., 52 ff, translated by K. R. CAMA, p. 179 ff) the fire becomes polluted. No fire is lighted in a room where a dead man lies. In some places fire is lighted in the open air to warm the water for the bath of a deceased. Such a fire is not lighted from the hearth-fire, which would be polluted, but is kindled anew by flint and steel. After the required portion of water is heated, the fire is unclean and noxious, the half-burnt logs of wood are not left in the court, but are thrown burning into the street. All passers-by avoid these logs in the streets as something dangerous. It is even believed that to tread upon them would cause the death of a member of the family. If by constant use the fire became unclean in the course of time, it was renewed at the consecrated fire-place of the community, a custom to be found with many nations (*cf.* ABEGHIAN, pp. 71-72).

If we now turn away from the powers of light and brightness to those of darkness, with Ahriman at their head, we can trace likewise similar conceptions in the Armenian popular belief. In consequence of the conversion of the Armenians to

[1] The matter is treated *in extenso* by Dosabhoy FRAMJEE, 'The Parsees', etc., pp. 255-266, and Vol. II., pp. 209-225. See also 'The Religion and the Customs of the Persians and other Iranians,' translated from the German of Dr. A. RAPP by K. R. CAMA, Bombay, 1877, pp. 141-144.

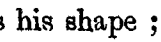
Christianity, the name of Ahriman[1] was indeed obscured by that of *Satan*. But his creatures which are mentioned by Herodotus, Plutarch and Agathias, and in the Acts of the Persian Martyrs, and the destruction of which the Avesta recommends as an atonement for certain sins (*cf.* Vend. XIV., 5-6; XVIII, 66-76), are still an object of fright and fear for the Armenians of the present day (*cf.* CAMA, *l.c.*, p. 160; Grundr. d. ir. Ph. II., 618). These are all the animals that are either dangerous or frightful and loathsome to mankind, for example, the reptiles, the poisonous snakes, scorpions, frogs, ants, gnats and all sorts of vermin which, together with the snakes, or alone by themselves, persecute man during the night. Few men dare to touch a frog, which is considered as an unclean animal. One is frightened to see it at night or in the twilight. It is considered as a demon producing diseases; it produces warts on the hand and makes the teeth fall out. The same action upon the teeth is ascribed in Astapat to the lizards. The ant is not so dangerous as the frog, but it also is sometimes called "*devil*," and is the cause of a skin-disease called "*mrǰmuk*", little ant. That the Armenians believed also in female demons called "*druj*," is proved by the word "*druc*," which is interpreted in an ancient dictionary as "*dev vnasin*," *i.e.*, demon of mischief. (See ALISCHAN, Der alte Glaube oder die heidnische Religion Armeniens, Venedig 1895, p. 218. ABEGHIAN, pp. 30-36). In Armenian, the word occurs in the compound *uxtadruž*, breaking one's word, *tiradruž*, perfidious, as ուխտադրուժ in ուխտադրուժ=Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥 𐭥𐭲𐭪𐭥 promise-breaking.[2] If the ancient name is not any more in use now, the belief in these female evil spirits, corresponding to the Iranian *druǰ* already mentioned in the

[1] The Avestic 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬯𐬀 Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭬𐭩𐭭 Ahr (a) man Gl. and Ind. 3, Syr. אהרמן, Neopers. اَرمن, اَرمَن or اَرِمَن is in Armenian *Arhmn* with the collateral forms *Haraman*, *Xaraman*, *Haramani*, *Xaramani*. According to HUEBSCHMANN, Arm. Gram., p. 26. *Haramani* appears to be the more ancient (Arsacidian), *Arhmn*, the more recent (Sassanian) form, as Parth. Arm. *Aramazd* for Ancient Pers. Auramazdā, Phl. *Ohrmazd*, Sassan. Arm. *Ormizd* for Middle Pers. *Hormizd*. See HUEBSCHMANN, *l.c.* p. 13.

[2] In Armenia we find the verb *dr̆z-em* or *dz̆r-em*, to deceive, to break a contract = Avest. 𐬛𐬁𐬵𐬎𐬯𐬀 Vd. IV, 11, 12. Yt. X, 18; XIV, 47. Anc. Persian *durǔj*, to lie, Phl. 𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥 to lie, to speak false, to break a promise 𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩 Gl. and Ind. 260, 262, furthermore the substantive *dr̆žank* or *dz̆rank*, fraud, deceit, and *druž̆an*, a false man = Phl. 𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥 false, lying, plur. used as a sing. 𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭥𐭱 Ard-i-Vir. V, 6; LG, 3, the false, liars, Anc. Pers. *draujāna*, a liar, Neopers. دروغ زن a liar.

Gāthās, is nevertheless still so strong, that all evil spirits appearing under different names are occasionally feminine. They have intimate intercourse with men in sleep, cheat them, and beget children with them, and these are all again of the female sex.

According to ABEGHIAN (p. 78) the thunderstorm-snakes have a prominent place in Armenian folklore. They are called "*višap*" dragon, an ancient and oft-used word, the popular expression being "*usap.*" In the Avesta the word does not occur, but that it is of Iranian origin is proved by the adjective "*višāpa,*" *i. e.*, "the juices of which are poisons," which according to BARTHOLOMÆ occurs in the Nīrangastān 48 as an epithet of "*azi.*" From ancient times down to the present day *višap* is, in Armenia, a personification of thunderstorm or whirlwind. As the Greek Typhon or Typhoeus designates the whirlwind, the water-spout, and in general every storm, and is, at the same time, a mythic dragon-like being, that fills the sky with its fiery breath and vapour, so likewise, the Armenian *Višap* is a monster appearing under the form of a water-spout or a whirlwind. According to Armenian popular belief, the thunderstorm is a wind that comes from the earth, rising to the surface from demolished and cavernous places and abysses. Therefore the dragon *Višap* rises or is drawn up to the light; as a thunderstorm-monster he dwells on high mountains, where the whirlwinds intercross, and lastly he is associated with mountain-caves and crevices, as is the thunderstorm-dragon with many other nations. He often changes his shape; he appears in one instant like a snake, in another as a man, once as a mule, then as a camel or as a rider pursuing the flying game. In a thunderstorm the fiery streaks of cloud—which are frequent in Armenia—are called the fiery body of the dragon, while the flash of lightning is the staff or the rod of the angel Gabriel and of other angels, who strike the dragon with it. Thunder is the cry of those who are struck. Finally the dragon is cut into pieces that fall down as snakes, *i.e.*, the stripes of the falling rain are considered as snakes.

In the Avesta Ažī Dahāka is also counted among the and called Vd. VIII, 21  (Geldn.), thus considered as a feminine, while he is generally masculine. This dragon had a most prominent place in Iranian folklore. We find traces of him in Christian Armenia as late as the 5th century A. C. The struggle between ÂTAR and AZHI is justly called by Edv. LEHMANN (Lehrbuch d. Religionsgeschichte Vol. II., p. 183-184) the principal myth of Iran, which in the

Avesta (Yt. XIX) is combined with political elements that give to the tale its peculiarly Persian character.

In the Bundahish Aži Dahāka's devilish pedigree is traced back to Ahriman; he has in Pahlavi the traditional epithet *Bēvarasp* (*cf.* JUSTI, *Ira.* Namenb. s. v. Baēwarāspa); in the Shâh-nâmeh he appears under the name of *Zohāk* as a human monster invested with sovereignty (see HUEBSCHMANN, Arm. Gr. pp. 32, 33; JACKSON, Grundr. II, 664). He is also called by Firdausi I., '40, 144 اژدهاش the dragon-like. He is called by the Armenians *Aždhāk Biurasp*. What place the legend of this *Aždahāk* held in Armenia, can be estimated from the interesting article of V. STACKELBERG (Bemerkungen zur persischen Sagengeschichte, Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes XII, s. 237-238) who gives some details of the Persian legend about *Aždhāk Biurasp* from MOSES of Khorene, and quotes on this occasion a passage from FAUSTUS OF BYZANT, an Armenian historian who relates that the Armenian queen *Pharendzem* consecrated her son *Pap* (370 A. C.) to the devs by whom Pap accordingly was possessed; he always communicated with them and they tried their witchcraft upon him When in the morning the courtiers waited upon the king, they perceived the *devs clinging to his* shoulders in the shape of snakes (*cf.* Firdausi, p. 32, V. 177), and creeping out of his bosom. But if the patriarch Narses or the holy bishop Chath appeared before Pap, the *devs* were not there and became invisible. V. STACKELBERG is inclined not to take this tale of Faustus for a genuine popular legend, but to attribute its origin to the influence of the Christian clergy, king Pap, being hated by the clergy because he suppressed the nunneries, prohibited the clergy from taking care of the poor and sequestered ecclesiastical property. Under his reign the discipline of the church was so loosened that, as FAUSTUS relates, many returned to the ancient *deva*-worship. But even if we grant that the clergy influenced the narrative of FAUSTUS, this is precisely a testimony for the popularity of the Aždahāk-legend in Armenia at this epoch, and shows how earnestly the clergy had to strive against deva-worship which was still practised. Nevertheless I agree with V. STACKELBERG's closing words: "It is characteristic for the force of the Iranian influence upon the intellectual life of ancient Armenia that even Christian ecclesiastics availed themselves, although unconsciously, of Iranian legends for their purposes."

It was not my intention to give in this short treatise a description of the Armenian folklore in all its particulars. But I believe that the little I have given will suffice to show many reminiscences of the old Indo-Iranian time, as well as of the time when the greatest part of the Armenian people adhered to Zoroastrianism, as still extant to-day. Although the zealous ministers of the Christian church endeavoured from the 5th century downwards with all their might to abolish the former religion with its hosts of spirits and its veneration of the celestial bodies, the Armenian people preserved its old songs, and its inherited popular belief. Also after the conversion to Christianity the people believed in the power of the stars that influence the destiny of individual men, unveil their profound secrets and accompany them on their way through life. (See CHALATIANZ, Armenische Heldensage, Zschr. f. vergleich Volkskunde XII, pp. 391, 401). This nation likewise bears evidence that religious ideas never perish by the rise of a new religion. "They are," as JUSTI says (Geschichte des alten Persiens, p. 73), "clad into another garment, adapted to the system, or banished from the community of true believers, they continue as superstitions which are often more powerful than the acknowledged religion."

Interpretation of Yasna XLIV., § 6, line 5.

BY

MR. KHODABAX EDALJI PUNEGAR, B.A.

An attempt will be found made in this paper to interpret, rather closely, with the help of phonetic equivalents in different languages, the line quoted above from a Gathic strophe.

To begin with, the word , equivalent to Sk. केभ्यः, the dative plural of the Interrogative Pronoun (Sk. किम्; कः) means 'for whom,' and so far there is no difficulty.

The next word is , which comes from the root (Sk. अज्), 'to drive.' I am tempted to regard the form as a passive adjective, being the sign to form the passive in the Avestan language. The accusative sign added to leaves the form as in the text. Thus the word would mean 'being driven,' 'propelled,'[1] in other words, the movement is not self-imparted, but is due to some external agent or event.[2]

The word following this is the compound form , of which the first part is rendered as 'to glad' by Mills, 'joy' by Kanga, 'gracious' by Spiegel, and 'consecrated gifts' (*e.g.*, meat, milk, butter) by Harlez.[3] In the absence of an intelligible root in the Avestan language, we go to

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[1] Dr. Mills explains the word as "'drivable,' 'mature,' 'docile,' better 'mother';" in Hâ XXIX, §5, he interprets by "'the productive,' 'the mother (cow).'" Spiegel means by the word 'going'; Haug 'indestructible,' and Harlez 'fat.' Justi and Bartholomae, according to Mills, refer the word to the demon अहि *Ahi*.

[2] The onward movement of the Earth along its orbit is generally regarded as due to the force with which it was separated out of the larger nebular mass, whose part it once formed, on the breaking up of that mass.

[3] Haug regards *Rânyô Skereti* as "a mythological name of the earth, to be found in the Gathas only." "It means producing the two friction woods (two wooden sticks by means of rubbing which fire was produced)."

the Sanskrit wherein the root रण् does actually mean 'to rejoice, exult, delight,' etc. But there is one further meaning given in Sanskrit to the form रणय, equivalent to the Avestic .اسردیج. According to the Sanskrit lexicographers, the word रणय means 'going, motion.'[1] This latter meaning, I think, suits better the present context, in which even another word implying 'movement' is employed, and which has, on the other hand, very little to do with the meaning of 'joy' or 'pleasure.'

The other part of the compound is .ۏسوءٔ. Compare with this word another word ۏسوءٔ often employed as the epithet of the earth in the phrase ۏسوءٔ ۏسوءٔ, in the accepted sense of 'round, circular.' Besides, the first four letters, namely *scre*, of the word *screw* seem to be phonetic equivalents of ۏسوءٔ, the stem of the word before us. Moreover, of the word *circle*, the first four letters, *viz. circ*, with a little transposition, equally represent the phonetic equivalents of ۏسوءٔ. The derivation of the word *circle* also lends us some help.[2]

From so close a relation between the word before us and different words in other languages, carrying the same sense of 'round, circular,' one may safely attach the meaning of 'circular' to the second part of the compound .اسردیج-ۏسوءٔ, and that of 'going circular or circling, whirling, rotating' to the compound form itself.[3]

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[1] Thus Benfey; रण = 'gang' (German word for the English 'going') in Böhtlingk and Roth; = 'motion' in Vaidya; = 'going, moving,' in Pandit Ram Jasan's Abridgment of Wilson's Dictionary; = 'to go' in Monier Williams. Also *cf.* the English word *run*: Saxon *rennan*, and with a transposition of letters, *œrnan, arnian, yrnan*; Gothic *rinnan*; Dutch *rennen*; German *rennen, rinnen*; Danish *rinder*; and Swedish *ränna*.

[2] Webster gives us the derivation as follows:—French *circle*; Italian *circolo*; Latin *circulus, circus*; Greek *kirkos* Spanish *cerco*; Celtic *cyrc, cwr, circle*; Arabic ك ر, to go round.

[3] It may be observed at this stage that the word .ۏسوءٔ-اسردیج conveys, rather better, the meaning of 'rotating' than does the word .ۏسو convey that of 'revolving.' The latter word carries, as said above, the sense of a simple movement and not actually that of the oval movement in the orbit which is due to the attraction of the sun.

The word 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌, that follows now, stands for 'the Earth.' This word is very pregnant of meaning. The first signification of the word is 'the cow.' But, as the cow played an important part in the period when agriculture was the main occupation of the people, the word came to be applied in a very extensive sense. In the phrase 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌, it seems to convey the notion of living creatures. In our present context it stands for 'the Earth,' in which sense the word गो, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Avestic 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌, also occurs in that language.[1]

The last word of the line under survey is 𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬎, which comes from the root 𐬙𐬀𐬯 (Sk. तक्ष), 'to mould, fashion,' etc., and stands in the Imperfect 2/1 parasmaipada. This last word, like the first one of the line, is not open to various interpretations.

Thus, the translation of the whole line before us for explanation should run as under:—

"For whom hast-thou-moulded the revolving[2] and rotating Earth?"

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[1] Monier Williams gives the various meanings of the word गो as follow: — herds of the sky, *i.e.*, the stars; the sky; thunderbolt; water; the sun; the moon; the earth (as the milch-cow of kings); a mother.

[2] Literally 'propelled.'

The Kisseh of Sultân Mâhmud as given in the Revâyets

BY

ERVAD EDALJEE KERSASPJEE ANTIA

The object of this paper is to narrate the Kisseh, or the story known as the Kisseh-i-Sultân Mâhmud, which seems to have been the source of the oft-quoted saying among the Parsees, that જરથોસ્તી દીન બાલ કરતાં બારીક છે., *i.e.*, "the Zoroastrian religion is finer than a hair." Though the story has no special value of its own, either as a story or as a part of a traditional history, it is interesting from some points of view.

First of all, it throws some side-light on the condition of the court of Mâhmud Ghaznavi, in which the so-called miracles are said to have occurred. It tends to show that the downfall of Firdousi was not only due to the personal jealousy on the part of the king's ministers and of the court poets for Firdousi, but was also due to what we may call jealousy for the Parsees. Finding that Firdousi had extolled the fame of the ancient Parsees, whose descendants did not like them on account of their religious differences, the Mahomedan courtiers seem to have plotted against the poet.

The Kisseh, of which I give a free translation in this paper, is not published yet. It forms a part of the collections of the Revâyets, known as the Revâyets of Burjo Kâmdin and Dârâb Hormuzdyâr.

THE KISSEH-I-SULTAN MAHMUD.

In the name of the Creator, on the day Beheram, I commenced to write this Kisseh. On account of the kindliness of the Creator of the world I make it known to all the people of the earth, so that small and great, whoever exist on the surface of the earth, may read it, may learn and be aware of the religion of the Creator and of the prophet Zarathushtra, and live as holy persons. (Reader!) Thyself, too endeavour in the path and religion of Ahura Mazda, and thou too shalt learn the mystery of the Creator. When Sultân Mâhmud came to the throne, the condition of

the Behdins was bad. Sultân Mâhmud was the King of Ghazni and of Persia. There were many poets during his reign. Firdousi Tusi, the author of the Shah-Nameh, had compiled the work at the dictates of this king. Hence a feeling of jealousy was excited against him in the hearts of the other poets, and combining together, they all appeared in the presence of the king and calumniated the Behdins.

All the poets having appeared before the king, they first offered prayers on his account, and said: "O king! Listen to our entreaty. There are seventy-two classes of us men, and all those communities live in a proper manner, but in all these there is one very wicked community, and we declare unto thee that the Zarathushtrian community is of all communities the most wicked and is not on the right path. The religion of the Behdins is most sceptical. They (the Behdins) live in and unrighteous manner. Those who live according to wicked ways and customs are not acting well; therefore, do thou either slay them or make them Mussulmans. We enforce this tale on thy mind; therefore, listen to this story, that thou mayst witnes the happiness of Heaven, and become joyful, and that God may fulfil thy wishes. O noble Sovereign! to-day thou art the owner of the Crown and the Throne and the whole world is obedient to thy command. Therefore reflect on this matter." When the king heard this story, he meditated for a while, and then prayed to God.

Then the king, having despatched messengers, called into his presence all the Behdins, old and young, from all places. All the Behdins came in astonishment in the presence of the king, and having rendered their obeisance, thus addressed the king: "O king! wherefore hast thou called us? We have done thee no offence. We are always thy friends and offer prayers for thee." Sultan Mâhmud thân said: "Ye Guebres! listen to what I say; become Mussulmans, and act according to the teaching of God, who is the Lord of Nature, and acknowledge God and his Rasool (*i.e.*, prophet); if you do not turn Mussulmans, I shall order all your houses to be razed to the ground, and will kill you, for such is the command of God and his Rasool."

When the Behdins heard this story from the king, they all felt astonished and were quite confounded. Then, there came forward from amongst them, one man, and, holding a dagger in his hand, he approached the king and said to him thus:

"Kill us all (with this dagger), but we shall not become Mussulmans in thy presence. We are faithful and unsceptical believers of the holy religion and of the holy Creator, and we rejoice that the prophet Zarathushtra was able to induce king Gushtasp to acknowledge that religion, and brought from the Almighty the Zend-Avesta and made many miracles manifest. He showed Heaven to king Gushtasp in his lifetime ; he made Peshotan immortal ; and he infused such knowledge into Jamasp that he became cognisant of what had gone before and of what was to come after ; he made Aspandyar invulnerable in body. We are unsceptical as to the religion of the Creator, and are separate from all sects. We are faithful to the religion of the Almighty Creator and of Zarathushtra, and therefore, we are prepared to sacrifice our lives for the sake of our religion."

When Sultân Mâhmud heard this, he reflected much over their words, and after a long consideration, the king spoke thus: "Show me what are the miracles in your religion, so that all people may see the design and miracles of your religion and law, and be contented thereby." When the king said this, then the wise man offered prayers for the king and said: "O king ! do thou ever remain happy on this earth. We shall call the Dasturs and Mobeds who will appear in thy presence, and they will exhibit miracles before thee by means of the Zend-Avesta, so that thou mayst be content. But thou must sit near a holy place, and there should not be more than two or three men besides thyself there. Thyself and thy comrades must first wash your bodies, and then, offering prayers to God, stand on the earth, and thy whole army may watch the spectacle, standing at a distance. We shall for three days pray to God and offer praises unto Him that the Almighty may show thee the miracle of the religion and that thou mayst see the design of the religion."

Thus saying, the wise man kissed the earth in front of the king, and reposed confidence in the Almighty. Then Sultân Mâhmud summoned three men who were his specially trusted subjects to his presence, and they made themselves ready for the spectacle by washing themselves.

Then the king went to the garden with his three followers, and the whole army of the king also went to the garden and stood at a distance. There was a *gûmbaj* (an altar) in the garden, where a few Mobeds were standing. Having untied and retied their *kusti*, they placed fragrance on the fire, and performed the Atash-Niyâyish, and devoted themselves to pray to the Almighty. They then performed the Yasna

ceremony in honour of Mino Nâvar, and during the performance of that ceremony placed fragrance on the fire, so that all the angels became quite pleased and appeared in the sky.

The king on looking to the sky saw an astonishing sight, *viz.*, all angels appeared in the air dressed in a green costume. The king and his army saw this miracle. The entire costume of the angels was of a green colour, and the colour of their horses was also green, and they were all armed. When the king saw them all in the air, he was greatly surprised, and began to think of God in his mind.

The next day the Dasturs performed the Yasna ceremony in honour of Sarosh, and recited the Zend-Avesta in a cheerful voice. Thereupon, for a second time, the angels were seen from the earth in the sky. They were all full of halo, and were all dressed in white. Every one saw this miracle of the holy religion, so that the king and the army rejoiced and were filled with amazement.

On the third day the Râspi sat down to recite the exordium of the Yasna in order to perform the Yasna in honour of the Sirojahs, but when in the act, a hair fell off from the beard of the Mobed and by chance was wound up along with the string wherewith the Barsam was bound. This the Mobed did not notice. When the Yasna ceremony was over and Sultân Mâhmud turned to the sky, he saw there a fearful spectacle. He saw black demons dressed in black on the back of elephants, and these black and stinking demons had come from the direction of the north. The king was much frightened at this sight, and began to complain to God. Then he sent a man to the Dastur, and inquired the reason why he had seen such a terrible sight that day.

Then the man having come to the Dasturs, asked them: "What is the reason that such a terrible sight was seen to-day? Therefore, give your explanation in the presence of the king." Then the Dasturs made their investigations, and on examining the barsam they saw a hair tied on to it whereby the barsam had become unholy. Thereby, the unholy Satan had caused the disturbance. But such is the design of the Almighty that by this disturbance the miracles of this delicate religion became all the more manifest. Then the Dasturs performed the Yasna anew. Then Sultân Mâhmud saw again something very wonderful, *viz.*, all the angels appeared in red apparel and their horses were also of the red colour of the

pomegranate. The king, as well as all others, were much pleased at this sight, and felt amazed, and the king called to his presence all the Mobeds.

The king said to the Mobeds: "Satisfy me with regard to the particulars I ask of you. On the first day we saw the angels in green dress and were pleased thereby. On the next day we saw the angels dressed in white, which angels were as full of glory as the sun. On the third day we saw such a sight that even our life would die out of the terror thereof. Then I sent a man to you and called your attention to the terrific spectacle. After the man returned to me, we saw angels dressed in red, at which sight our hearts rejoiced. Explain to me the reason why such an even occurred on the third day."

Having offered thanksgivings to God, the Mobed said: "On the third day, by the evil interference of the unholy Satan, a hair had fallen on the barsam from off my beard, of which I was not aware. Our religious ceremony is disturbed by a hair. Therefore, instead of angels, the demons were seen. Our religion is very holy; therefore, by the command of God we are unsceptical, faithful and steadfast in this religion, and for this our holy religion, we would even give up our lives, but we shall not relinquish this good religion. It is forbidden in our religion to break one's contracts; we are told that it is a meritorious deed to smite the sorcerers. Whoso relinquishes this religion will not see his wishes fulfilled, whether in this or in the next world."

When king Mâhmud heard this, he kept looking on the company for some time, and then said to the Mobeds: "Remain faithful to your religion, and we shall not interfere with you. If your religion is thus affected by a hair, it must be very minute. Therefore, I tell you to remain faithful and unsceptical about this religion, and to observe the customs and ceremonials of the religion with proper care."

Then the Mobeds thus replied: "We make manifest unto thee from the story of the holy prophet that the religion was first revealed in the reign of king Gushtasp. The holy prophet Zarathushtra brought the Zend-Avesta. Such knowledge did not exist before in the world. He also brought the 'tree of everything' from heaven, which he planted in the *Atash-kadeh* (fire-temple). When seven years elapsed after the planting of this tree, the tree had become so big as to be forty fathoms in height and breadth. After this, Arjasp waged many wars with Gushtasp

in order to uproot the religion, but at length Arjasp was slain at the hands of Aspendiâr, and everywhere the customs and ceremonials of the religion were made known. The religion continued in a prosperous state for three hundred years.

"Then came Alexander, who spoilt the religion and cut down the 'tree of everything,' and destroyed the *nasks* of the whole of the Zend-Avesta, and kept with himself those *nasks* which were useful, as, for instance, those relating to astrology and medicine and augury, but burnt down all the books pertaining to the religion —*viz.*, the books of the Zend-Avesta. The infidel having died full of despair, the Ashkanians were supreme for three hundred years. The religion was current also during that regime.

"Then Ardeshir Bâbagân was born, who revived this divine religion. In his time, Dastur Ardâ-i-Virâf was sent to the presence of God. For seven days he learnt all about good and evil, and then he wrote out all he had seen in the presence of God, and restored confidence in this holy religion.

"Again, in the time of the emperor Shahpur, many people began to lose confidence in the religion and became sceptical, when Dastur Adarbad Mâhraspend exhibited a miracle, *viz.*, he poured molten lead over his breast, but not a hair of his suffered any harm thereby. By this miracle the scepticism of the Behdins was done away with and they again revived their belief in the religion which continued to live.

"Then during the reign of Kobâd, the infidel Mazdak showed a wicked path, and exhibited a miracle by digging a tunnel underneath the *Atash-Kadeh*, but the people soon saw his false religion, and Noshirwan Adil killed him and his comrades, and the religion continued to exist till the reign of king Yazdezard Sheheriar. Thereafter, thy prophet was born who spread his religion. We did not accept his religion. Thereupon king Amir-ul-Momni imposed a tax upon us. At the command of the Amir we paid every year a silver diram, and at last the king, out of kindness, exempted us even from this one diram. And now thou Sultân Mâhmud gives us relief. We are the supporters of thy Crown and Throne. We live under thy rule."

Having said this, and offered prayers for the king, they all left for their homes.

The Legend of Keresaspa

BY

ERVAD EDALJEE KERSASPJEE ANTIA.

I give in this paper the adventures of Keresaspa which have been referred to in various places in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings. The story of his marvellous achievements is substantially the same in its main features in all the writings, though it is not free from some colouring of the writer's imagination. It is hardly possible for one to imagine the performance of such wonderful feats of strength as Keresaspa is related to have performed. The whole narrative seems to be an allegorical representation of righteousness attempting to purge the world of all evil.

In the narrative we give below from the Revâyat of Barjor Kâmdin, we find the great hero dead, and desiring an entrance into heaven, which is denied him by Ardibehesht, the keeper of the keys of heaven. There are several noteworthy features in this narrative, which typify the extent of knowledge possessed by the people at the time when the storey originated. It is not strange that the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht should be represented as the gate-keeper of heaven, inasmuch as the way to heaven, according to the Zoroastrian religion, is gained by the practice of Asha in thought, word and action. But what is somewhat remarkable is this that Ardibehesht is said here to be the angel presiding over fire, and, as such, refusing the joys of heaven to Keresaspa, who had on one occasion ill-treated the fire. This idea of Ardibehesht presiding over fire is to be found in all the later Zoroastrian literature, and can be explained only by the fact, that fire is, amongst natural objects, given an extremely high position in the Avesta literature for its purity and excellence. Anyhow, the idea that Ardibehesht is the Ameshaspend presiding over fire is a later one, and thus the present narrative cannot be maintained to have adhered strictly to the Avesta original.

Another point worthy of note is the uncompromising attitude observed by the writer. We find Keresaspa performing a number of righteous actions, fighting

against evil in every possible shape, and thus doing untold good to the human race. And yet for the offence committed by him in having on one occasion ill-treated the fire, he is prevented from entering the joys and beatitude of heaven, until the special intervention of Zarathushtra, who prays most fervently in his behalf. Whatever criticism may be passed on the ethical idea, sought to be conveyed by this legend, and however it may seem to differ from the general spirit of the Avesta writings, we cannot refrain from believing that the legend of Keresaspa was written, among others, for a didactic purpose, with a view to warn people against venial offences. In any case the legend which we now quote at its full length below is well deserving a perusal as a typical writing of the time of its publication.

THE STORY OF THE SOUL OF KERESASPA.

Ahura Mazda once asked Zarathushtra: "O Zarathushtra, hast thou heard aught about him who has performed many adventures and virtuous deeds?" Thereupon Zarathushtra replied: "Kershasp has performed such actions." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda called to the spot the soul of Kershasp. When the prophet Zarathushtra looked at the soul of Kershasp, Kershasp wept and said: "O Zarathushtra, alas! that I did not become a herbad! If I had become a herbad I would have performed the Yasna ceremonial, and then I would not have suffered this pain and misery." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda told the soul of Kershasp: "O Kershasp, stand away from this spot, and do not stand near the Ameshaspends, for thou hast harmed the fire, and therefore appearest wicked in my eyes."

Then the soul of Kershasp bent before the Creator Ahura Mazda, and said: "O Creator of glory, Ahura Mazda! grant me heaven, for I have slain a serpent in the world.[1] That serpent was so large that he devoured men and quadrupeds, and from his mouth proceeded smoke which was poisonous, and his teeth were as large as the thigh of a man, and his eye was as big as a sheep, and his head was eighty fathoms in circumference. I ran after the serpent at dawn, but reached him only at noon-time, and I broke his head into pieces by means of my javelin. When I looked into his mouth, I saw men still hanging on his teeth. If I had not smitten the serpent he would have harassed the whole world, and destroyed the whole earth. There was no

[1] *Vide* Yasna, IX, 11; Jamyad Yesht, 40.

man at the time who could have beaten him." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda said: "O soul of Kershasp, go away from this spot, for thou hast extinguished the fire, and hast not preserved it well, and hast thus made the Ameshaspend Adibehesht thy enemy. I shall not pardon thee, and shall not give thee a place in heaven."

A second time the soul of Kershasp said: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, pardon me, and make room for me in heaven, for I have slain Zarevash-Ghandhareva.[1] That demon was such that when he got hungry, he at once ate up ten or twelve men and devoured four-footed cattle also in a similar manner. I smote that destructive demon, and when I looked into his mouth I saw dead asses and horses hanging therein. When that demon stood in the sea, the water reached only his knees, and his head went as high up as the sun—so tall he was. I fought with him in the sea for nine days and nine nights, and I caught him after nine days and nights, and put down his head, and tied up his hands, and brought him out of the sea. Then I smote him, and when he fell on the ground, he rendered many towns and many villages desolate by his fall. If I had not smitten the demon, all animals would have perished and have been destroyed." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda said: "O soul of Kershasp, stand away from this spot. For thou hast extinguished the fire, and hast made the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht thy foe, and hast done harm. I shall not pardon thee, and shall make no room for thee in heaven, so that by this deed of thine, men may become aware that the Creator Ahura Mazda has created all things for the benefit of mankind. For, if he had not created all these things, men could not have lived without them. Men must not play such mischief with fire, and take good care of fire, and preserve it like their own life. And men must know that Kershasp had done such great deeds, but still on one occasion he behaved thus with fire; therefore his soul had to suffer such pain, so that they might take care of fire."

For the third time the soul of Kershasp said: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, pardon me and make room for me in heaven. For I killed seven highwaymen.[2] Each of these highwaymen was so tall that the waters of the sea reached only their ankles, and it appeared as if the sun and moon were moving near their legs, and through fear of

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[1] *Vide* Aban Yesht, 37; Jamyad Yesht, 41. | [2] *Vide* Jamyad Yesht, 41.

these highwaymen no man could go to any other place, and they devoured any one whom they saw on the way, and when they made their reckoning at the end of the year, they found that they murdered and annihilated three lakhs of men. Then I fought with these seven highwaymen and slew them. If I had not destroyed them, they would have destroyed the world, and harassed all mankind." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda said: "O soul of Kershasp, go away from this spot, for thou hast extinguished the fire and hast made the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht thy enemy. I shall not pardon thee and shall not grant thee heaven."

For the fourth time the soul of Kershasp said to the Creator Ahura Mazda: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, forgive me, and give me a place in heaven. For the unholy Satan told the wind, 'Nothing is stronger than thy strength and power; O wind, Kershasp did not reckon thee strong, and he has passed himself off as powerful.' Ahriman and the demons thus deceived the wind. Then by this deceit of Ahriman and the demons, the wind began to blow with such force in the world, that where before there were habitation and mountains, plains were only left, and all trees and plants were uprooted and they all fell at a long distance. Then I ran behind the wind; then he came close to me, and in spite of the wind using great force, he could not shift my foot from the ground, and finally I caught the wind, and by my strength I pulled him down. Then the wind made an agreement with me: 'From this day I shall not blow on the earth with such force, and do such an act as I have been ordered by the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspends.' When he entered into this compact with me, I left him off from my hands. If I had not caught the spiritual wind, the whole earth would have been at once destroyed, and the creation would have perished." The Creator Ahura Mazda said: "O soul of Kershasp, go away from here, for thou hast appeared wicked in my eyes, for thou hast extinguished the fire, and hast caused pain to the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht. I shall not pardon thy guilt, and shall not give thee a place in heaven."

Then, for the fifth time the soul of Kershasp said: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, forgive me, and give me a place in heaven. For a bird called Kamak appeared in the world, and began to create so much mischief in the world that by means of its wings it darkened the earth, and created such annoyance that it absorbed in its wings all the rain which poured on the earth, and would not allow a drop of rain to fall on the

earth, and after the rain ceased it would go and empty all the water it had absorbed in its wings into the sea, and would not allow even a drop of water to fall on the earth. Thus throughout the earth there was much misery from famine and drought, and many men died out. And everywhere the tanks and fountains dried up, and men and quadrupeds were harassed, and could not obtain a grain of corn or a drop of water. Nobody could remedy this. Then at last I fought with the bird with an arrow, and fired shafts upon it like rain. For seven days and seven nights I fought with the bird thus, and pierced its wings, so that the bird fell on the ground, and a great deal of creation perished under its weight. Then I broke its beak by means of the javelin. If I had not slain it, it would have harassed the whole world, and no one would have survived. O Ahura Mazda, such strength and might thou hadst bestowed upon me, and so I did this act. Otherwise, how could I have gained that power and how could I have done such a deed?" Then God said: "O soul of Kershasp, go away from this spot. For thou hast extinguished the fire and hast therefore appeared low in my eyes, and thou hast made the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht thy enemy. So I shall not pardon thy guilt, and shall not give thee a place in heaven."

Then the soul of Kershasp said: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, if it is thus that thou dost not grant me heaven, then revive me again and give me again that strength and might that I might destroy Ahriman and all the demons, and emptying hell, make all holy, and removing the corruption, the stink, and the darkness of hell, render it bright, and sit there alone." Then the Creator Ahura Mazda said: "The time thou speakest of has not arrived. As long as all mankind do not cease committing sins, so long it is impossible to revive the dead. As long as the Ristakhez does not take place, so long thou shouldst not be revived." When Kershasp made out his whole story manifest, then the prophet Zarathushtra heard the story and, bowing before God, said: "O Creator Ahura Mazda, I know that there is no revenge and vengeance in thy religion, and that thou art not pleased with the man who entertains feelings of revenge against another. Now I see such an act as if one man were entertaining a feeling of revenge against another." When Zarathushtra spoke these words, and Kershasp cried out unto the prophet Zarathushtra, then the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht arose and said: "O Zarathushtra, thou knowest what Kershasp has

done unto me. It was the custom in former times that when men placed fuel underneath the cauldron to cook their food, I sent fire, and when the food was cooked and all was ready then the fire returned to its proper place. On the day this Kershasp killed the serpent, he placed the cauldron on the hearth and piled wood underneath it. When the fire came, rather late, then he struck the fire with his javelin, and thus harassed the fire. So I shall not allow his soul to enter heaven." When the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht said thus, the soul of Kershasp wept and said, "What the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht says is true. I repent for the mistake I made." Thus saying, Kershasp held the fringe of Zarathushtra's garment and said, "The position and rank which thou occupiest has not been occupied by any man. Thou now possessest halo and glory; therefore, cause the Ameshaspend Ardibehest to forgive my sin and plead on my behalf that I may be released from pain and torture."

Then Zarathushtra hailed the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht and bowed before him with joined hands, and said: "I shall declare unto king Gushtasp and Jamasp and all the people of the world that henceforth they shall take good care of fire, and not harass it in any way." When the prophet Zarathushtra entreated a great deal the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht said: "Thy position is exalted and thy wish is great; therefore, I forgive Kershasp his sin, and shall not torment his soul hereafter." By the entreaties of Zarathushtra the soul of Kershasp obtained relief and went into heaven. Now it behoves men that they shall keep the fire as holy as possible, and take care of it, and do it no harm, so that the Ameshaspend Ardibehesht may be pleased. Look at this example, that although Kershasp had done so many virtuous deeds, and with bravery he relieved the world of so many calamities, yet he suffered such torments. Therefore, if any man will not preserve the fire and take good care of it, his soul will also suffer such torments.[1]

[1] For an account of Kershasp's adventures, *vide* Yasna, chap. IX., 10 and 11; Aban Yesht, *37*; Jamyad Yesht, 40-45; also Shams-ul-Ulma Ervad Jivanji Modi's Lectures and Sermons, Part II, para. 244 *et seq.*

The Immortal Soul: Its Pre-existence, Persistence after Death and Transmigration

BY

MR. RATANJI FARDUNJI GORVALA, M.A.

In the following paper it is intended to examine in detail the various views met with in the Pehlavi writings regarding the immortal principle in man, *viz.*, his *ravân*, or soul. The ideas prevalent among the Parsis at present on the subject are very much indefinite and vague, whereas if one carefully analyses the thought of the Pehlavi writers about the immortal part of man, he is struck with its clearness and profundity. To the modern Parsi, the *ravân* is but an abstraction created and joined to his body some time at his birth, identifying itself with the corporeal frame throughout the man's lifetime and separating itself from it for once and for ever at his death, and finally receiving its appointed reward or punishment in the other life. The Pehlavi writer imparts much more knowledge, and is much more definite and precise in his conceptions on the subject. His conceptions are, besides, nearer the spirit of the Avesta.

Man was, according to him, fundamentally divisible into two distinct sections, *viz.*, corporeal and spiritual. The corporeal consisted of the *tan*, the *kalbud*, etc.[1] The spiritual part of man was in its turn variously divided. The ordinarily accepted divisions are those given in the Dinkard § 218, *viz.*, *gân* (life), *ravân* (soul), *farohar* (guardian spirit), and *bôd* (consciousness), which last also seems to be called *vakhsh* (*vide* § 123, 2, Dink.). This classification is more or less based on Yasna, Hâ 55, 1, where man is divided into *tanu*, *ast*, *ushtana*, *kehrpa*, *tevishi*, consciousness, soul, and spirit. The Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast[2] teaches that eleven things which correspond to the eleven stanzas of the first three Hâs of the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ, move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian

1 Pand Nâmeh-e-Adarbad § 142; Ganj-e-Shâyagân § 151.

2 XIII., 4.

spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling and hearing. The first five are similar to those given in Farvardin Yasht, § 155.

The *ravân* or soul is by no means the peculiar property of man alone. We find in the Avesta that animals have also souls.[1] The Dinkard[2] teaches that animals as well as other creatures have this immortal principle in them. Besides, we find that Ahura Mazda himself has[3] the Mâthra Spenta as his soul, and all the seven Amesha Spentas see[4] each other's souls.

An interesting question in connection with the *ravân* is regarding its origin. No where does the Avesta teach that the spiritual parts of man were created by Ahura at any point of time. Ahura Mazda, we know, is the giver of the 'material' (*ast-homand*) world only, a work in which the two spirits, which co-exist with him, and his six co-workers also take part. The Pehlavi writings uphold this view of the Avesta, and they not only declare the existence of the soul before the man's birth, but on the contrary proclaim man's co-eternity with Ahura Mazda.

The Bundehashna (XVII., 9) says that when the body of man is formed in the womb of the mother a soul from the spirit world takes its seat in it. As long as the body is alive, the soul guides it; when the body dies, it mingles with the earth and the soul goes back to the spirit world. At another place (chap. XV., 4) it is stated clearly that "the soul is created before and the body after."

The idea of the pre-existence of the soul is to a certain extent foreshadowed in the Avesta and the Gâthâs. The Fravashis were already in existence and were 'standing' when the two spirits created the world. The priest invokes in the ceremonial all the Fravashis, both of the living and the dead, as well as of those yet to take birth. The Fravardin Yasht,[5] which gives a detailed description of the Fravashis, invokes those of men to be born hereafter, and we are told that these Fravashis actually descend[6] to the earth seeking the blessings of men for ten nights at the time of the Hamaspathmaedaya Ghâmbâr. In the Zamyad Yasht, § 56, and Aban Yasht, § 42, we find that Frangrasyan, the Turanian, wanted to destroy the glory belonging to the Aryans born as well as unborn.

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[1] Farv. Yt., §§ 74 and 154; Ys. 39, 4. § 123, 2.
[2] Farv. Yt. § 81.
[3] Farv. Yt. § 84; Zam. Yt. § 17.
[4] § 21.
[5] *Ibid.* § 41.

The conception of the soul 'coming from afar' and going *back* to its original place is a very common one among the Pehlavi writers. That the soul exists independently of the body seems to be generally believed. The Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast[1] talks of the soul entering into the womb of the mother. The Dinkard[2] teaches that the soul is sent to this world for fighting with the Druj and that it goes *back* to its original home after conquering her. This world[3] is the fighting ground for obtaining heaven and the future body, and the soul, the Lord over Life, is but a warrior in the field. It is even tried to indicate the 'mansion' or 'station' in the other world from which the soul comes to the body. Children under eight and men out of their senses (*hôsh*) *return*[4] to the Sun-station (*Khurshed-pâê*) after death. The reason for this seems to be that the soul has not in such a condition of irresponsibility done consciously any good or bad acts for which it can be rewarded or punished in that world. No fresh account has been opened here to be repaid hereafter. It is stainless[5] (*avizak*) and, having incurred no fresh liabilities in childhood or madness, goes back in its pristine purity to the place from which it came.

The notion of the soul existing before the body, or before the man's birth, seems to logically follow, and is on all fours with, the belief that the spiritual existence was the first and the material existence followed it[6], or to say in the words of the author of Shikand Gumânik Vazâr (chap. VII., 24), the worldly existence is the fruit of the spiritual and the spiritual is its root. But the spiritual existence that pre-existed the material was, we are told, in an unthinking and unmoving condition.[7] Man, however, is to some extent developed, and before coming into corporeality is able to see as completely the things around him as if he were in material existence.[8]

The Ganj-e-Shâyagan[9] says that the man who reaches the age of fifteen ought to know who he is, what his self is, whence he comes and whither he returns, whether he has issued from the spiritual existence or sprung from the earthly one, etc. And the replies the writer suggests are that the man has come to the world from

[1] XVII., 11-12.
[2] § 222.
[3] *Ibid.* § 251.
[4] *Ibid.* § 110-14.
[5] *Ibid.* § 111-9.
[6] Dink. § 416; Great Bund.
[7] Bund. ch. I.
[8] Dink § 126-2.
[9] § 121-122.

the spiritual existence and has not sprung up from the earth, and that his father is Ahura Mazda and his mother Spenta Armaiti, although the seed from which he springs is Gayomarḍ. In the advice given by Khusro Kavâdân [1] a similar train of speculations is discovered. The thoughtful mind enquires whence he is and whither he will return, and the replies are given as above. He has come hither from the presence of God to fight and to conquer the Druj, and he will return to the Divine Presence after finishing his task. *Cf.* Ys. 61, 11 :—*Âkâoschit Âhuirê Mazdâ jasentâm.* "Consciously, oh Lord ! let them depart into Ahura." The Saddar [2] says that the souls go everyone to its own house.

"The pre-existence of souls," says Martin Haug,[3] "is one of the doctrines of Zoroastrianism which is well known to all Parsi priests, but is, as yet, not properly comprehended by European Zandists." The learned savant was of opinion that the *paro asnâi anguhê* of the Avesta referred to the life in the other world, preceding this one, into which the man returned after the separation of the body and soul, *e.g.*, for the sake of getting reward for having cleansed from the Druj Nasu the man defiled by the dead[4] or for suffering punishment for his misdeeds. [5]

In the Gâthâs those who are yet to be born are spoken of like those who have lived and those who are in existence, as if seeking for blessings from Mazda, for Zarathushtra declares[6] that the offerers of Mazda seek for blessings from Him and these offerers are those who are alive, those who have lived aforetime, as well as those who are to come into existence.

Having seen as to what was the belief of the Pehlavi writers regarding the doctrine of pre-existence, let us see some instances in which souls of some persons have been actually regarded as having been in existence prior to their birth. In the summary of the Sudgar Nask (now lost), preserved in the Dinkard, we find that some one flies behind Kâi Us and protects him from the assaults of Neriosang, the angel presiding over fire ; he tells Neriosang, "Do not destroy him, for, owing to this man, will be born Siyâvakhsh, and owing to Siyâvakhsh I shall be born who am Khusroi."[7] Apparently the writer believed Khusroi to exist before his birth.

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[1] § 6.
[2] XXXVII., 2.
[3] *Vide* his note on Hadokht I., 10.
[4] Vend IX., 43.
[5] *Ibid.* XIII., 8.
[6] Ys. XLV., 7.
[7] Farg. XXI., 10-12.

In the case of Aoshnar, the individual makes his existence felt even when he is in the womb of his mother. When the Aryan glory passed on to Aoshnar, he became[1] fully sagacious in his mother's womb and many wonders were taught by him to his mother through speaking from the mother's womb; also at his birth he vanquished the maleficent spirit by uttering answers to the questions of the deadly Frâchih, the demon-worshipper.

Regarding Zarathushtra, however, there are unmistakeable evidences of his existence before birth. From the summary of the Sudgar, Farg. VII., it appears that the whole cycle of worldly existence is divided into four parts, somewhat similar to those we meet with in the Bundehashn, as follow :—

(1) Golden, that in which Ahura Mazda displayed the religion to Zarathushtra.

(2) Silver, that in which Vishtâsp received the religion from Zarathushtra.

(3) Steel, that within which the organiser of righteousness, Atropât, son of Mâraspend, was born.

(4) Iron, that in which the reign of religion will be destroyed.

Looking to the last three divisions, we may presume that the first period could not have been meant to consist of the few years of Zarathustra's life during which the prophet received the religion after his birth. From the Dinkard it appears that the period before the coming of Zarathushtra is called the three milleniums of Zarathushera.[2] This presumption is further strengthened by the fact the Dinkard teaches that Zarathushtra is an equal to the Ameshâspends from the beginning of creation, and that the was given a birth at an opportune time.[3] As regards Zarathushtra's connection with the Ameshâspends, the passage from Dinkard, Book VII., quoted above, says :

"Then the three milleniums of Zarathushtra were the number manifest to them through observation by the eye, and it seems that he became just like an archangel through bodily contact with (*hamkerpih*) the archangels."

In Zâd Sparam Zarathushtra is said[4] to be the soul of mankind. The Spend Nask contained particulars about the origin and combination of the material existence, guardian spirit and soul of Zarathushtra, how the creation of each

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[1] Dink. Bk. VII., chap. I. 36.
[2] Book VII., chap. II. 16.
[3] Book V. §§ 1-6.
[4] Chap. XVII. 3.

one occurred in the spiritual existence, and in what mode it was produced for the worldly existence and how their communication with the parents arose, the combination in the mother and the birth from the mother.[1] The Avesta containing these particulars is now lost, but the traditions regarding Zarathushtra conveyed in Book VII. of Dinkard seem to be based on the lost texts. It will be seen how an elaborate process has to be resorted to before Zarathushtra is 'conveyed down'[2] into this life. Ten chapters are written in this Book "as to the information from the Avesta and in benediction of the religion of Ahura Mazda"; and the first of these is devoted to "That of it which is before the birth of that Glorious One from his mother in the present world." It is stated[3] therein that at the command of Ahura Mazda the Glory (𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬌) of Zarathushtra came from the spiritual existence to the worldly one, and then to the material substance (*mâdiyât*) of Zarathushtra. Quoting from the Avesta the writer says: "Thereupon when Ahura Mazda had produced the material (*dahîshn*) of Zarathushtra, the Glory then, in the presence of Ahura Mazda, fled on towards the material of Zarathushtra, on to that germ; from that germ it fled on, on *to the light which is endless*; from the light which is endless it fled on, on to the sun; from the sun it fled on, on to the moon; from the moon it fled on, on to the fire which was in the house of Zôish; and from that fire it fled on, on to the wife of Frâhimrvanâ-Zoish[4], when she brought forth that girl who became the mother of Zarathushtra." It will be seen hereafter that the soul when it departs from this world passes in a reverse order through the various stages described here.

The Fravashi, or the Guardian Spirit of Zarathushtra also existed before his birth. Zâd Sparam teaches[5] that the Fravashi of Zarathushtra is in the Haoma. The Fravashi is conveyed to Zarathushtra's parents through the Haoma, and when the serpents try to destroy the Haoma, Zarathushtra's Fravashi is said to have started up and destroyed those serpents, and the Fravashi thereafter comes to Zarathushtra by an elaborate process through Porushasp and Dugdâub.[6] The combination of the Glory (or the soul), the Guardian Spirit and the bodily nature of Zarathushtra takes place before Porushasp and Dugdâub come into sexual contact.[7]

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1 Dink. Bk. VII., chap. XIV.
2 *Ibid* chap. II., 17 and 19.
3 *Ibid*. ch. II:, 2-3.
4 Zarathushtra's mother's father.
5 Chap. XII., 12.
6 Dink. Bk. VII., chap. II., 22-47.
7 *Ibid*. chap. II., 47.

That the Fravashi is with the child before it leaves the mother's womb seems to have been taught in the Huspârum Nask, now lost, for it says that at the fifth month the Fravashi allowed the embryo to differentiate itself either into the male sex or the female.[1] The fifth month in the womb and the fifth year after birth seem to be landmarks in the evolution of the man. The Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast speaks of the *kustī* or the sacred thread-girdle being tied round the child in the womb of its mother in order that the child may be well cared for.[2] The fifth year marks a stage in the development of the man's moral responsibilities, since up to that age the child is not regarded as responsible for its actions. Even from the fifth to the seventh year the responsibility mainly rests with the parents.[3]

Tradition says that Zarathushtra laughed when he was born, contrary to the general rule that children cry when they first see the light of the world. Some explanation of this may be gathered from the following statement of Zâd Sparam. That learned Dastur taught that those who are made to cry have seen mortality as their end, and those having laughed have seen their own righteousness.[4] It would appear that the soul when launched into the world has a prescience of what its fate was going to be. This power to foresee things does not ordinarily belong to the soul when it is in a bodily condition. It is possible that the shackles of matter are yet hanging too lightly over the new comer.

Now, if the soul exists before birth, at what time is it then created? Is it created at all at any point of time? The Avesta does not teach that a soul is 'created' or that it is destroyed for ever. The belief in semi-eternity, *i.e.*, a thing with a beginning but without an end, does not seem to have been entertained. It neither satisfies the demands of reason nor the cravings of the human heart. The Bag Nask[5] taught that man's eternity was without ends both ways. It stated that the contemplation of the affairs of Ahura Mazda leads man to the belief in the eternity (*hamâyikih*) of Ahura Mazda as well as to the consideration of his own eternity by Ahura Mazda. Man's eternity depends upon that of the Supreme, but he is co-eternal with his Father — a doctrine which no doubt influenced the early Christian writers in their metaphysical disquisitions.

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[1] Chap. XXXV., 7.
[2] Chap. X., 13.
[3] *Ibid.* chap. V., 1.
[4] Chap. XIV., 16.
[5] Farg. VI., 11.

It is hoped that the arguments put forward above will be regarded as sufficient to prove that the Pehlavi writers, following the spirit of the Avesta as far as they understood it, believed in the existence of the immortal soul before its appearance in the world in this life. One point more to be noted. I shall try further on to show that philosophical speculation and popular belief among the ancient Zoroastrians were not free from the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of the soul. If so, it is an additional proof that the doctrine of pre-existence was commonly believed in and gave rise to such beliefs.

We pass on now to the newly born babe. When a child was born it was thought that it was very delicate for three days and sensitive to evil influences, and that the demons, wizards, and witches tried to molest and destroy it during that period. It was therefore ordered that a suitable place was to be prepared for the child, a fire made at night, kept up until daylight and maintained there by day, and pure incense was placed upon it as prescribed in the thirtieth section of the Sakâdum Nask.[1] The child was, probably for a similar reason, given the butter or oil of Maidhyozaremaya, the food given to those in heaven, and the Haoma juice. When Zarathushtra was born 150 demons tried to molest him for three days.[2]

The man's soul is despatched to this world with a definite purpose and everyone is to undergo trouble for his soul.[3] His business in this life is to save his soul, and when he passes on to the other world he takes nothing with him who does not take, *i.e.*, save, his own soul. Such a man, to speak in the words of the Dinkard, 'deceives' his soul.[4] The Avesta phrase *nôit chahmi zazva yô nôit urunê zazva* ('he has gained nothing who has not gained the soul') is commonly found quoted in the colophons of manuscripts and must no doubt have been taken from the lost Avesta. The heavenly life was to be purchased in the worldly existence, and from the Dinkard it seems that this was done by the soul guiding the body.[5] The worshipper of fire having so much at stake while here in the world, is made to ask as a blessing from fire for a long-forecasting preparation of the soul.[6]

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[1] Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast XII., 12; and Dink Bk. VIII., chap. XXXVIII., 6-7.
[2] Saddar XVI.
[3] Minôkhd. I, 23-27.
[4] § 260-4.
[5] § 123.
[6] Ys. LXII., 6.

The body is a mere instrument placed at the disposal of the soul. It is often compared to a house, and the soul is said to be the master of the house. It is sometimes compared to a horse, and the soul is its rider.[1] The Sudgar stated that the body of every one is not of like will with the soul; food is the desire of the body and also a store of wealth; righteous action is the desire of the soul and also 'the gifts which they give away.'[2] The soul wishes to give, the body to receive. When, however, the soul becomes perverse and takes to the ways of the body, it is punished by being served with bad food in the abode of the Druj, as taught in the Gathas.[3] Every care was to be taken to let the soul advance in goodness.[4] The soul of the Holy Ones was considered[5] an object of the holy creation, and was worshipped along with other good objects in the Yasna ceremonial. The worshipper specified in the ceremonial prayer even his own Fravashi and his own soul.[6]

The soul can work on two sides, on the side of the Ameshaspends or on that of the animals. If the soul is working according to the dictates of *ahu* or conscience[7] it is a co-worker with the archangels, otherwise it descends into pure animality. The action of the body and soul on each other is mutual, and by no means one-sided. The 'preciousness' of the earthly body is from the purity of the heavenly soul, and the purity of the heavenly soul is through the instrumentality of the earthly body.[8] And again he whose soul is sick his body is sick.[9] Hence also the cure of the soul was through the body and that of the body was through the soul.[10] The practice of medicine was accordingly necessary for making the soul *amarg* or free from crime[11] and spiritual death.[12] A disorder in the soul, on the contrary, led to one in the body, and the practice of virtue was enjoined as a cure for physical ailments. "As long as the sickness lasts," says the Vendidad,[13] "my great protector is he who teaches virtue to the perverse." The remedy of sickness, according to the Dinkard, is religion (*dâtih*).[14]

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[1] Dink. § 218.
[2] Farg. XI, 22.
[3] XLIX., 11.
[4] Ys. LXX, 5.
[5] Nirangestan, § 70.
[6] Hâs VII., 4; LXXI., 11-18, and Visp. V., XI., 1.
[7] Dink. § 209, 9.
[8] *Ibid.* § 137, 13.
[9] *Ibid.* § 245, 11.
[10] *Ibid.* § 157, 24.
[11] *Ibid.* § 157, 11.
[12] *Ibid.* § 157, 4.
[13] Farg. XI., 4.
[14] § 244.

Finally, however, a time comes when the house a man dwells in, like all other passing objects, becomes desolate. The immortal soul then, with the animating *khaya* or life-principle, goes out as a wise landlord from a desolate house to one which is well built.[1] The body dies when the Farohar goes away as a house breaks without its pillar.[2] Every mortal is subject to Ast-Vidhât, the demon of death, who carries him off, and no one is safe from his noose. Each one indeed only saves that which is his soul.[3]

There seem, however, to be exceptional cases in which men do not die but remain immortal, and they have extraordinary powers. The seven *dâsturs* presiding over the seven *keshvars* or 'zones' are immortal, and at the time of the renovation communicate with each other from region to region as men do with each other by means of the tongue.[4]

Let us now pass on to the souls of 'those passed away' and of 'the dead'—these two seem to be distinct classes—who still roam about on the earth for three nights. The first night, satisfaction comes to them from their good thoughts, and vexation from their evil ones. The second night, they derive pleasure from their good words, and discomfort and punishment from evil ones. The third night, comes exaltation from their good deeds, and punishment from their evil ones. The third night in the dawn they go to the 'place of account' on Mount Alborz, and the account being rendered, they proceed to the Bridge.[5] For three nights their consciousness sits outside the body, in its vicinity, and remembers and expects that which is truly fear and trouble unto the demons, and reward, peace and glad tidings unto the spirits of the good.[6] The Hâdokht Nask says that for three nights the soul sits at the head in the case of a virtuous man, and at the skull in the case of a wicked man, reciting the Gâthâs. The Minô Kherad locates the soul at the crown of the head.[7] Virâf saw the soul of the virtuous during the first three nights at the top of the body, and of the wicked at the head.[8] There is no trace of an ordinance actually existing at any time amongst the Zoroastrians enjoining the preservation of the corpse for

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[1] Dâdistan XXIII., 6.
[2] Dink. § 218.
[3] Sudgar, Farg. XV., 2
[4] Dâd. XXXVI., 6
[5] Dâd. ch. XX.
[6] *Ibid.* XVI., 7
[7] Ch. II., 114.
[8] Ch. IV., 9; and ch. XVII., 6.

three days after death. The crown of the head and the top of the head refer here probably to an immaterial vesture in which the *ravân* is clothed after death. The *ravân* seems to have some such body or *tan* in heaven and hell.

Nor are we sure whether the three days and nights referred to here should be taken in a literal sense. Probably the three 'days' are definite stages in the soul's progress to the other world before its arrival at the Chinvad Bridge on the morning of the fourth 'day.'

Some difference was perhaps made between *karp* or *kâlbud*, the body of 'flesh and blood' devoured by the dogs and birds, and *tan* the vehicle from which the consciousness finally departs to the other world.[1] The Saddar teaches that during the three days that the soul is in this world, first it goes to the abode of the fire, afterwards to the stars, the moon and the sun, and at the fourth step to the Chinvad Bridge when it is conveyed to its own place.[2] In the Dâmdâd Nask also it was revealed that when they sever the consciousness of the man, it goes out to the nearest fire, then to the stars, the moon and the sun.[3] Fire is said to turn the whole bodily existence, some to the endless light and some to the endless darkness.[4] Vafra Navâz thrown up by Thraetaona is allegorically said to travel three days and nights, in the shape of a bird or vulture.[5] In the Varshtmansar the Joti is said to reach the sun-station by three steps leading up to the Ameshaspends through good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.[6]

According to the Vendidâd the moment of separation of the consciousness from the 'body' seems to be different from that of a man's actual death. Zarathushtra asks, "When a man dies, at what moment does the Druj Nasu rush upon him." Mazda answers, "As soon as the consciousness has gone out."[7] When a man dies his reward in the next life is awarded, not immediately after death, but when he passes over the Bridge. From Fargards VIII., 81, and IX., 43, it appears that the reward of protecting the Nasu-burning fire and of cleansing the person or thing defiled by the Nasu is obtained when the consciousness departs. The *bôd*, or consciousness, says the Dinkard, is like a sun to the world and a lamp in the house,

[1] Andarz-e-Âdarbâd, § 142.
[2] Ch. LXXXVII., 1 and 11.
[3] Shayast-lâ-Shâyast XII., 5.
[4] Sudgar, Farg. X., 12.
[5] Âbân Yt. XVI.
[6] Ch. XLIII., 7.
[7] Farg. VII., 1-2.

and if it departs, the soul reaches ruin *in body, i.e.*, even before physical death.[1] The separation of the consciousness from the body may thus occur before death as well as after it. The *bôd* seems to be the same principle as *vakhsh*. The soul and Farohar are able to see by means of the *vakhsh*. In the case of a man who has passed away, the Farohar and *vakhsh* are joined to the soul if the latter is holy. When the soul is sinful, however, they are separated.[2] It may be noted that the *bôd* repeatedly endeavours to promote the good of the body during the man's lifetime by keeping it away from sin and making it practice good works.[3]

It appears that the earth, the star-station and the *hamistagân* (purgatory) are between heaven and hell where those who have 'passed away' and those who are 'dead' are mixed up. Those whose good deeds are more are on the way to heaven, and those whose evil deeds are more are on the way to hell. When their good and evil deeds balance they remain in *hamistagân*.[4] This is the place of strife between the two spirits that takes place after death according to the Vendidâd.[5] This fighting place stretches from the inmost of the body to the star-station,[6] and the strife has been going on ever since Ahriman rushed through the sky up to the star-station with his gloom, and spread darkness over one-third of the star-station.[7]

Now let us enquire what is the condition of the soul that is becoming separated from the body. As the Saddar[8] says the soul in such a condition is like an infant, and does not know any way to its place. Srosh acts as a midwife in such a predicament, and hence the necessity of ceremonials after death as well as before[9] death performed in honour of that angel. For three days and nights Srosh saves the soul from the attacks of the demons. After three days the ceremonial is for the guardian spirits. This performance of the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirits is also for the same soul.[10] When a man dies at a place where this ceremony cannot be performed, it can be performed at some other place. If the information reaches later, the ceremony should be begun from the day the information arrives.[11] In the case of the Zindahravân the ceremony takes place before death, and when the time of death is

1 § 218.
2 *Ibid.*, § 123, 2.
3 Sudgar, Farg. XV., 8.
4 Dink. Bk. V, p. 485.
5 Farg VII., 54.
6 Dink. § 119, 3; § 124, 2.
7 Zad Spm. ch. I., 27-8.
8 Ch. LVIII., 6-7.
9 *Zindahravân.*
10 Dad. XXVIII., 7.
11 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast XVII., 3-6.

not known, the ceremony can be performed at any time.[1] This shows that the passage of the dead from this world to the Chinvad Bridge was not necessarily considered to occupy three 'days.' These may be regarded merely as stages. Otherwise there was no use performing ceremonies even months after when the news of death was received. The use of meat seems to have been forbidden during those three days and this custom, which still prevails, seems to have been based on the Avesta. The Husparum Nask speaks about a 'sheep of good breed for the three nights' and its slaughter after that period.[2]

Weeping over the dear departed ones was strictly forbidden, as that would increase the distress of the very spirit of life.[3] On the contrary ceremonials and blessings are necessary for them.[4] The ceremonies will avail the man only if he is penitent and sees his mistake.[5] Such persons, it seems, when they have accomplished repentance do not arrive in hell, but they administer punishment to them at the head of the Chinvad Bridge and afterwards conduct them to their own places.[6] During these three days' trials it is the duty of a husband to preserve his wife, of a father to preserve his child, and of a master to preserve his servant.[7]

We then come to the passage of the soul over the Bridge. After 'three days' struggle' the man, if he is righteous, passes over the Bridge on the ascent. If his good and evil works equibalance, he goes to the region of the ever-stationary. If along with an excess of good works his habits are correct, he is admitted to heaven. In addition to this, if he has chanted the sacred hymns, he goes to the Garo-Namâna or Supreme Heaven. If he is wicked, he falls either from the lower end or from the middle of the Bridge, head foremost, into hell, and is precipitated into the grade suitable to his wickedness.[8] The Bridge is here spoken of as if it had three separate stages.

The allegory of the Bridge existed from the time of the Gâthâs. The bridge is commonly connected with the passage of the dead only from this world to the next. In the Gâthâs[9] the word is mentioned in the plural, so that there must have been a belief in more than one 'bridge.' The Bridge was a place of strife between good

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1 Dad. LXXXI., 5-8.
2 Ch. XXX.,12.
3 Sudgar, Farg. XI., 20.
4 Saddar XCVI.
5 Dad. LXXII., 11.
6 Saddar XLV, 10.
7 Dad. LV.
8 Dad. XX.
9 Hâ. L., 7.

and evil, but it does not seem that this strife was confined to the soul's passage from this world to the next. On the contrary, it seems[1] that the earth is compared to the Bridge, and that the unrighteous have to struggle hard over the Bridge to reach the paths of rectitude. The allegory of the man's conscience (*daena*) appearing as a maiden at the Chinvad Bridge, is likewise a development of the idea presented here in the Gâthâs of the struggle within the conscience of the good and evil forces.

Yasna XIX., 6, clearly states that the man's soul passes three times over the Chinvad Bridge. The same sentence seems to be quoted in Bag Nask also. Ahura Mazda says, "His soul I pass on to the best existence three times over the Chinvad Bridge. I who am Ahura Mazda, *i.e.*, on that day in which he shall faithfully perform the ceremony, I shall lead his soul three times into the world yonder and shall cause its happiness therein."[2] In the Bag Nask, which imparted special teaching regarding the Bridge, it was stated that the day on which the *nâvar* ceremony was performed, they make the soul of the solemnizer pass three times into the Supreme Heaven.[4] Fargard XV. of the Nask, which refers specially to 'discipleship and teaching,' stated that through the Chinvâd Bridge they shall 'step forth,' and that one passed away on the Chinvad Bridge is taught when he has proceeded publicly on the right path.[5] According to Fargard XVII., § 2, of the same Nask, the Chinvad passage is made known by him who shall perform the ritual of an ordeal which is accomplished; those who have accomplished a work of the spirit become witnesses one about the other as to the facts. The Saddar says, quoting from the Avesta, that on the day that they are performing the *navazud* or sacred thread ceremony and are celebrating a *Geti Kharid*, three times the soul of the person on whose account the ceremonies are performed arrives at heaven, and they show it a place therein and offer it a profuse greeting.[6]

Amongst the souls suffering heavy punishments for grievous crimes such as extinguishing the Behrâm Fire, uttering a falsehood, murdering a righteous man, etc., Virâf saw the souls of men who destroyed a bridge over a rapid river.[7] Probably

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[1] Hâ. LI., 12-13.
[2] Peh. Yasna.
[3] Initiation.
[4] Farg. I., 10.
[5] § 9.
[6] Ch. V. 6.
[7] Ch. LV. 3

this refers to the allegory of the Chinvad Bridge, the man's conscience which binds him to the Deity. The idea of crossing the Chinvad Bridge and going over to the other world, even while in life, was not an unfamiliar one among the Zoroastrians. Virâf, it is well known, performed this journey over the Bridge. Zarathushtra seems to have had peeps into the life beyond death, and for this purpose the Bridge must have been crossed over by him in life. Akht the magician is said to have gone over to hell and returned to the earth after consulting Ahariman.[1]

The other world is not the only place of reward and punishment for actions performed in this life. In the Dâdestân-e-Dinik it is stated[2] that the punishment of a sinful soul comes during his lifetime or in hell, or in *tan-e-pasin* or the future existence, and that this punishment comes from that spirit with whom the sin which was committed by the soul is connected. From the same book it further appears that the account of good deeds and sin committed during the man's lifetime is kept by Vohuman and Mithra. A similar account for the coming world, or for the 'three nights,' is audited by Sraosha and Rashnu. And in the *tan-e-pasin* or future existence Ahura Mazda Himself takes the account.[3]

It is commonly believed that in the next life the man whose evil deeds predominate goes to hell without receiving any reward for the good he may have done in the world. So also the man whose good deeds are more, enjoys heaven without suffering for the evil he may have done. The ancient Zoroastrians evidently believed, with greater reason and commonsense, that every action had its reward or punishment, and that in the next life the man's good deeds as well as wicked ones produced their due effects. For the Dâdistân clearly teaches that at the just impartial balance the man of proper habits, whose good works are more, undergoes, before proceeding to heaven, a temporary punishment for any sin he may have committed, and that the sinful man of improper habits, whose evil deeds predominate, attains a temporary enjoyment for any good works that may have been done by him, before he suffers punishment for his evil deeds.[4] The place where this temporary punishment and temporary reward are ministered is probably the Zoroastrian purgatory, situated in the station of the ever-stationary (*hamistagân*).

[1] Gosht-e-Fryân, ch. IV.
[2] Ch. XIV., 6.
[3] Ch. XIV.
[4] Ch. XIII., 4.

The fact is recognised also by the philosophic writer of Shikand Gumânik Vizâr (the Doubt Dispelling Doctrine), who tells us, "And even there (at the place of thirst and hunger and the agonising abode of disease) those feeble good works are not useless to it, for owing to the same reason that hunger, thirst and punishment are inflicted on it (the soul) proportionately to the sin and not lawlessly, because there is a watcher of the infliction of its punishment." [1] Nor was it maintained that there was no freedom from hell except on the day of Judgment. In the Sudgar it is stated [2] that Zoroaster saw Keresâsp's soul in a terrible condition kept away from heaven by fire. Zoroaster appealed to fire to have compassion upon what was owing to Keresâsp's sin. This request of Zoroaster, says the Dinkard, was complied with and Keresâsp was allowed to depart to the ever-stationary existence.

Indeed not a single good deed goes unrecompensed. The right foot of the wicked Davânôs is, while even in hell, protected from the assaults of noxious creatures, because with this foot he cast a bundle of grass before a ploughing ox.[3] Virâf also observed in hell that the right foot of the sinful man whose whole body was being boiled was outside the cauldron and was thus free from pain.[4] Not only was every deed taken into account, but the reward was proportionate to the merit. As the Minô Kherad says, every man whose participation in wisdom is great, his share in heaven is much more. Vishtâsp, Zarathushtra and Gayomard's share in heaven was more because they were wiser than ordinary men.[5]

The soul has the power to see the reward and Bridge of the spiritual existence, but when it is embodied it does not see such things. "If when embodied it could have seen these things, it would not have committed the sin really originating with it, even for anything whatever of the ease and comfort of the worldly existence nor shrunk from the first good work." [6] The wicked become aware of their own wickedness when their bodies are dissipated. [7] Man has an intuitive and a vague perception that every act of his in its turn produces a due effect on himself and that the

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1 Ch. IV., 97-99
2 Ch. XV.
3 *Vide* Virâf. ch. XXXII, and Saddar III.
4 Ch. LX.
5 Ch. LVII., 19-20.
6 Sudgar, Farg. XV., 3.
7 Varshtmansar, ch. XLI., 23.

evil which comes to him is of his own doing, but as long as the soul is imprisoned in the body, it is unable to understand how the law of 'As you sow, so you reap' actually works out in practice.

The 'deaf and dumb and helpless' are also responsible for their acts, which produce either a good or a bad result. The effect of these acts is the same in the other world as if they were performed by men without any physical defects, and the person who performed these deeds goes to heaven or hell according as his good works are more or less than his evil ones.[1] The law is impersonal. Even a belief in religion made no difference in the effect of a man's works. A person belonging to another religion if he committed even one Tanâphur of good deeds more than evil ones, was saved from hell.[2]

It was not believed that after death a man was absolutely cut off from the living. The dead seem even to interfere actively in the affairs of the living. We find the soul of the dead Zarir shouting out at the battlefield to Bastur to avenge his death and to use his arrow against his cowardly murderer Vidarafsh.[3] It was recognised that a wrong could be done to the dead as well as to the living, and that the injury could be avenged in this life as well as in the next. The Nakâdum Nask taught that when one strikes a living person, he vexes him and is himself vexed in return when he is dead; but if he strikes a dead person he is vexed alive and the dead person whom he strikes vexes him when dead.[4]

The soul cannot cross the Chinvad Bridge if he is not absolved from the wrongs he has inflicted on another person. Such a sin is called a 'sin affecting antagonists', and so long as the antagonist does not become satisfied the sin flows on and they keep his soul back at the head of the Bridge till the time that his antagonist shall arrive and himself 'accomplish his antagonism' and they give him back a reply.[5] Until justice is exacted from him, he is not released and is kept back at the Bridge.[6] The sinful soul is not allowed to enter paradise until he is able to answer satisfactorily the question put to him by Mazda, presumably with reference to his successfully combating the evil in life.[7] This would show that before a soul

[1] Shâyast-la-Shâyast VI.
[2] *Ibid.* VI., 6.
[3] Aiyâdgâr-e-Zarirân, 104.
[4] Dink Bk. VIII., ch. XIX., 36.
[5] Saddar, LXIII, 11.
[6] *Ibid.* ch. XLII, 4.
[7] Vend. XVIII, 29.

passes into heaven it must free itself from the effects of its past misdeeds and the responsibilities of 'debts' due to others.

Nor is the soul checked in its passage over the Bridge by its own faults alone. For every tear that issues from the eyes of the mourners becomes a drop of the river before the Bridge, and the soul is unable to cross the stream. [1]

A man cannot pass the Bridge until he has his own son or an adopted one. If he have neither, it is the duty of others to appoint an adopted son for him lest he may be disabled from crossing the Bridge and arriving at his own station. If one fails to appoint an adopted son for the soul of the deceased, the latter cries out to him when he dies: "In the like manner as I have remained delayed in this place, I will not let you pass; so that you will make no passage over the Chinvad Bridge till the sacred beings take my rights away from you." [2] The souls of children under seven years of age go with the souls of their fathers and mothers; if the father is fit for heaven, the child goes to heaven with him; if he is fit for hell, the child arrives in hell with him So also with the mother. Every time therefore that they accomplish the ceremony of Sraosha, the soul of the child becomes separated from the soul of its father and mother and goes to heaven and is imploring intercession for its father and mother in the presence of the sacred beings in that other world. [3] This indicates a belief in the passage of the soul from hell to heaven if proper measures be taken. Indeed it was hoped that our fathers and mothers and all our relations would meet us in the other life. The souls recognise and ask for one another in that world, and that is alleged as the reason why they desire to be attired in a good dress there. [4] The Dâdestân taught that the Druj was never successful in keeping the wicked to himself for ever. Finally the spirit of the sinner even will go to heaven.

> "Even that is what is so self-damaging to the same fiend that, when he puts to death him who is wicked and is performing what is desirable for him (the fiend)—that performance of what is desirable being the practice of sin— . . . . the spirit of the owner of the sin, whose soul is wicked, is righteous in whose worldly body exist the letters of pain and darkness; and owing to the unfettering of its hands from that pain it (the spirit) is far away; and goes to heaven which is the most fortified of fortresses." [5]

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[1] Saddar, XCVI.
[2] Saddar XVIII., 15-8.
[3] *Ibid.* XLVII.
[4] *Ibid.* LXXXVII., 4.
[5] Dad. XXXVII., 79.

The ceremonies performed for the dead have no meaning unless they assist the departed on their path heavenwards. And not only are these ceremonies useful to the dead, they are useful to the living also. When strengthened by these ceremonies the dead are enabled to help in turn their friends who performed these ceremonies. The souls of the dead, says the Saddar,[1] come out in the other world to meet those who performed the ten days' ceremony for them and cause gladness to them and maintain their courage. Nor is the sphere of influence of the dead confined to the other world alone. If proper ceremonials were performed, the dead would assist the living also.[2] The Avesta taught that the soul of the departed one was assisted by other souls. No soul will come out to meet the soul of the man who shall smite a shepherd's dog or a house-dog, a *Vohunazga* dog or a trained dog and help it; nor will the dogs that keep the Bridge assist it.[3] According to the Farvardin Yasht the Fravashis of the dead ones come to this world ten days every year and give help to the living if properly worshipped.

The effect of a good or bad deed performed by a person seems to go on increasing in intensity until the man dies. After his death, the good deeds performed by others on his behalf and at his bidding or wish reach him at the balance and make him happy. For instance, he may bequeath his property in charity and order it to be used in a good way. The good effect of that will go out to the man in the other world.[4]

The notion of time and space seems to be changed in the other world. To the sinful soul in hell a period of three days or even of one day appears as 9,000 years.[5] In heaven he who is below is elevated over him who is above.[6]

The Avesta never taught that the punishment of a sin, however dark, never ended. A limited cause could not have an unlimited effect. The Vendidâd says[7] that the sin of breaking contracts, for instance, involves the *nabânazdishtâs* (nearest relatives ?) of the sinners in sin for a limited number of years proportionate to their crimes, or most probably, as the great Revâyat hints, it was believed that the man himself would be in hell for so many years.

1 XXXVII., 6.
2 Saddar, XIII.
3 Vend. XIII, 9.
4 Dad. chs. VIII-IX.
5 Virâf, chs. XVIII and LIV.
6 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast VI, 5.
7 Farg. IV.

Let us now glance over some of the beliefs regarding the heaven world which will assist us to understand the life of the soul there. There are said to be thirty-three ways of reaching heaven.[1] The butter or oil of Zaremaya is the food given to the soul in heaven.[2] The same food is, it will be remembered, given to the new born child. The Varshtmansar Nask taught that whoever is in the Garothmân or Supreme Heaven is not any one that passes away after birth.[3] The child has not apparently collected sufficient merit to deserve that place. At the time of the renovation of the universe the supreme heaven will be lowered down to the star region and the earth will be lifted up there.[4] The Garothman or Supreme Heaven where, according to the Gâthâs, Mazda dwells, seems to be situated in the sun region (*khurshed pâye*). The Bag Nask stated that the bodily form of Ahura Mazda is praised by him who elevates his own soul to the sun-station, because the bodily form of Mazda exists and becomes loftiest and most perfect in that station.[5] "Mankind," says the Dinkard, "through speaking to the soul may attain to the firmament of the sun."[6]

The souls of animals do not seem to be present in the life after death. Neither does it appear that these souls are destroyed. The soul of a righteous man has a perfume at which the fiends tremble as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.[7]

The soul has to be preserved from spiritual decay and spiritual death. It becomes fit for hell through decay brought about by not doing its allotted work in life.[8] The soul of the person committing unnatural crimes dies,[9] and they who think scornfully of religion and the *kavis* and the *karaps* destroy their own souls.[10] The soul of the man who gives thought to his religion is specially protected by Zarathushtra.[11]

The Varshtamansar Nask spoke of the destruction of the good work of the wicked, of their own souls, their spiritual existence as well as of their material bodies.[12] The wicked that arise in the 9th and 10th century after Zarathushtra, says the Dinkard,

1 Saddar LXXIX, 6.
2 Hadokht II, 38; and Dad. XXXI.
3 Ch. XXVIII, 3.
4 *Ibid.*
5 Farg. XI, 18.
6 Bk.-VII., ch. III, 28.
7 Vish. Yt. § 27, and Vend. XIX.
8 Dink. § 331-7.
9 Saddar IX, 6.
10 Varshtr. XXXII, 22; XXXIX, 19.
11 Bag Nask, Farg. VII, 11-12.
12 Ch. XLI, 23.

destroy their own souls.[1] The death of the soul is not its total annihilation. According to the Vendidâd, the soul of the man who commits the gravest crime of killing the Vanghâpara dog is 'destroyed' only for a limited period.[2] This is spiritual death, the casting perhaps of the soul into hell, its disappearance from life spiritual. When the man becomes totally irresponsive to good and gives himself up to evil, he is said to be destroyed. Such a destruction overcomes the soul even though the body is living—the man is in actual life.[3] The work of the Druj, it must be remembered, is the destruction of the 'realms of righteousness' (*ashahê gaethâo*).[4] The keeping away of this sort of death (*mahrka*),[5] which comes over the soul, is devoutly to be prayed for. The *mahrka* or *marg* is, however, a temporary suspension of all spiritual activities. For, at the final day, every one will make his own soul immortal (*amarg*).[6] The world of the righteous is freed from destruction by him who possesses advantage through virtue.[7] On the final day the wicked sinner who is *marg-arzan*, *i.e.*, spiritually dead, will be brought out of hell, and for every mortal sin they will cut off his head once and the last time they will make him live again and inflict on him the three nights' punishment.[8]

According to Zoroastrianism nothing will in the end be destroyed. The Vendidâd teaches that through the medicinal properties of the Primal Bull the man who dies (*mêrênchaitê*) in one period of the day can be restored in the next.[9] Good will at last triumph over evil, and final happiness is for all.[10] Even the souls that have by their misdeeds been doomed to punishment in hell till the renovation will be finally liberated, and undergo the three nights' punishment with the souls of the righteous, and by complete purification from sin they will attain 'everlasting progress, happy progress, and perfect progress of the final and undisturbed existence.'[11] The man who commits the sin of forsaking the Mazda-worshipping religion undergoes punishment during the 'three nights' even in the body and his soul is saved.[12] The same thought is echoed in the Shikand Gumânik Vizâr:—

1 Bk VII., ch. VIII, 37.
2 Farg. XIII, 3.
3 Dink. § 36.
4 Gâthâs XXXI., 1.
5 Mêrânch.
6 Dink. Bk. IX, ch. LXIX, 48.
7 Bag Farg. VII., 1.
8 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast VIII., 7.
9 Farg. XXI., 3.
10 Varshtr. XXXVII.
11 Dad. XIV., 8.
12 *Ibid.* XLI., 8.

"Ultimately the compassionate creator who is the forgiver of the creatures does not leave any good creature captive in the hands of the enemy (Ahariman), but one day he saves even those who are sinful and those of the righteous through atonement for sin by the hands of the purifiers, and makes them proceed on the happy course, which is eternal." [1]

It is generally believed that the resurrection of the dead will take place and that the 'future body' [2] will come into existence only at the end of the world. But Virâf was shown by the angels the existence of the resurrection and the future body when he went on his travels in the other world.[3] About the final day an Avesta fragment says: "Let Angra Mainyu be hid beneath the earth. Let the Daevas likewise disappear. Let the dead arise and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies." [4] The dead rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies and not from the place where they enter into their mothers, or take birth, or where their body dies.[5]

Now if the Pehlavi writers believed in the pre-existence of the soul, speculations must have been rife as to the condition of this immortal principle in man before coming to this life. A system of philosophy that admits of the existence of the soul before birth naturally leads to a belief in the migration of the soul from one life to another. Transmigration and pre-existence go side by side. All the older faiths of Asia have been saturated with these two ideas brought forward to explain the inequalities in life and there is no special reason to believe that the religion of Zarathushtra, flourishing through so many centuries, could have remained free from a tincture of these ideas. Nor does a belief in heaven and hell preclude a belief in the transmigration of the soul. In the Hindu philosophy both these doctrines have been taught side by side, and, as explained, they do not appear to be irreconcilable.

Besides a belief in the pre-existence of an undying principle which, as stated above, is found even in the older Avesta, is again a very strong reason for suspecting that the Avesta was not free from the belief in metempsychosis and transmigration. There is no heaven and hell for the souls of animals, and unless it

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1 Ch. IV., 100-101.

2 *Tan-e-pasin.*

3 Virâf Nâmeh V, 11.

4 Westergaard Fragment IV.

5 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast XVII., 11-12.

was regarded that after the death of the animal its soul perished totally, it must have been considered that such souls take birth again, either in animal or human forms.

The existence of a belief in transmigration, in no sense runs counter to the philosophy preached in the Gâthâs. If these doctrines were so very familiar to the neighbouring Hindu races, and if a belief in them was considered harmful by Zarathushtra, there is strong ground to suppose that Zarathushtra would have expressed his disapproval of them in some part of the Gâthâs. On the contrary, he refers to the *ahubish* (lives)[1] of a man for which he implores the assistance of a protector :—

Dâm ahubish ratum chizhdi = Show me a wise protector for (my) lives.

In the *Mâdigân-e-Chatrang*, a book on the origin of the game of chess, the turning and returning of the pawns is compared to the connection of men on earth with the spiritual world.[2] The different lives the soul enters upon are like so many revolutions. After death it plunges into the other world; before birth it seems to converge from it. The body is frequently compared to an attire of the soul. [3] The life and soul when from the realm of the spirit of air (*min mainok vâyih*), says the Dâdistân, attain into worldly attire and have passed into its pain and misfortune, they become more sensitive. So also when they are ousted from bodily existence; and when pain and the eradication of life have come upon them, they are in like manner more sensitive. In such a condition sending them protection and defence from spirits and worldly existences is more desirable. [4] And again, when a man dies, his soul and animating life go out from the body and his body is compared, as shown above, to a desolate house whose owner leaves it for one which is well built.[5] The Dinkard even speaks of the soul putting on the attire of the body at different periods (*javit jamânihâ*). [6]

The necessity for the doctrine of transmigration was clearly recognised in the philosophical work, Shikand Gumânik Vizâr, referred to above. The belief was by no means unknown to the masses, who distorted it perhaps in various shapes as we shall

[1] In the plural, *not* dual, *i.e.*, more than two lives or many lives. *Cf.* also Has XXXI, 19, and XLIV, 2.
[2] § 17.
[3] Dink. §§ 51 and 401-2.
[4] Ch. XXVIII., 2.
[5] *Ibid.* ch. XXIII., 6.
[6] Dink. § 222, 2

see anon. The idea, however, does not appear to have been so largely developed and made the basis of a whole philosophy, as was the case with the speculative mind further east which laid so much stress upon it. The author of Shikand Gumânik leaves no doubt as regards the belief at least prevailing in his time:—

> "Moreover, if the births of the worldly (existence) are mostly manifest through the occurrence of death therein, even then it is seen that that death is not a complete dissolution of existence, but a necessity of going from place to place, from duty to duty. For as the existence of all these elements is derived from the four elements, it is manifest to the sight that those worldly bodies of theirs are to be mingled again with the four elements. The spiritual parts, which are the rudimentary appliances, of the life stimulating the body are mingled with the soul—on account of unity of nature they are not dispersed—and the soul is accountable for its own deeds." [1]

The same thought is again reiterated:—

> "Because, if even, by reason of death, the body be separated from life, it is not extinction and change of nature from its own self, but decay of peculiarities and a necessity of going from place to place and from duty to duty. Then each one of the qualities of one's body and life is to subsist again, in its own nature for other duties, as is revealed.[2] And the existence of these creatures and creation fully, continuously, and perpetually active, is advantageously manifest during a suitable period." [3]

So long as one's work in the world was not finished, it was regarded that one was bound to live in the world and carry it out. Gosht-e-Fryan says that when the man who does not worship God and perform his duties in the world dies, his wish is to go back to the living. He is said to die a second time and see Ast-Vihâd, the demon of death.[4] This is manifestly impossible, unless the man comes to life again through another birth. Compare the case of the *marg-arzan* sinner who is beheaded as many times as he has committed a mortal sin. The Dinkard even advises men to live in a manner so that life (*khaya*) may *again* be joined to the body.

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[1] Ch. IV., 87-91.

[2] *Sic* in the Avesta. A familiar phrase used when quoting the older Scripture.

[3] *Ibid.* ch. XII, 79-81.

[4] Ch. II., 43-48.

[5] § 408, 7.

For, as the author of Ganj-e-Shâyagân says, the man who leaving the side of Ahura Mazda goes over to that of Ast-Vihad, makes his fleshly body (*kâlbud*) the seat of the evil Vâe,[1] and his intelligence, his power, his consciousness, his life and his body (*tan*) are separated from his fleshly body (*kâlbud*) and the latter remains *riman* (defiled) and useless until Sosiosh makes the final body, and all these principles do not unite one with the other and the *kâlbud* is destroyed just as a tree is burnt away and loses its entity.[2] When a man dies and sees with his spiritual perception his body being gnawed by dogs and birds, he feels it if he is wicked, and is then again desirous of its bodily existence.[3] The desire to come to life again is dominant in the character of the sinner ; the pious seem to be free from attachment to the worldly existence. It is said that when in a house a supreme high priest passes away in idolatry, an apostate (*âharmôk*) will be born in that dwelling.[4]

The theory of transmigration seems to have largely influenced the masses, who distorted it into various phantastic shapes just as we find it amongst the Hindus It was believed that the souls of the sinners put on the attire of wolves and noxious animals.[5] The soul of the apostate was supposed to become a darting snake.[6] Virâf saw in hell the soul of a man whose head was like a human head and the remaining body like that of a serpent.[7] Zâd Sparam speaks of the witch assuming the shape of a dog.[8] About Gayomard it is mentioned that he was destroyed by the fiend and came back to the world as a man and woman whose names were Mashya and Mashyôi.[9] At the back of all these beliefs seems to be present the idea of the soul taking different bodies during the course of its existence.

Even the sacred beings assume embodied existence and work through the bodies of animals, according to the exigencies of the times. The imagery of Behram taking ten different animal and human shapes for the purpose of affording assistance to men is taken no doubt from the Pauranic conception of the ten Incarnations of Vishnu. The coming of Zarathushtra was prophesied by sacred beings through the tongues of animals scattered about in the world.[10] Vohu Mano and Asha Vahishta turned off into embodied existence for the sake of conveying the Prophet's Fravashi to his parents.[11]

1 The spirit of wind and also death.
2 § 161.
3 Dad. XVI.
4 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast IX., 3.
5 Dink. § 51.
6 Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast XVII., 7.
7 Virâf, ch. XXXVI.
8 Ch. XII., 12.
9 Dad. XXXVII., 82.
10 Dink. Bk. VII., ch. II., 61.
11 *Ibid.* ch. II., 24.

These strange beliefs prevailing in the folklore of ancient Iran and the well-established connection between that country and India support the conclusion that the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of the soul influenced the faith of the ancient Zoroastrians in all times. Indeed, the struggle between the powers of Good and Evil could not end in the triumph of the former if but one brief life was the only time given for the fight.

The Signification of the Words "Upazananam Upazoit"

BY

MR. ARDESHIR KHURSHEDJI VESAVEVALA, B.A.

The object of this short paper is to determine the signification of the words "*Upâzanamnãm Upâzôit*" used in the Vendidad as a form of punishment. The phrase has been variously translated by different scholars.

Dr. Spiegel translates it thus: "'O Creator, what is the punishment for one who breaks a *mithra* in words?' Then answered Ahura Mazda: 'Let them *strike* three hundred blows with the horse-goad, three hundred with the Sraoshô-charana.'"

Professor Harlez translates the same thus: "Then answered Ahura Mazda: 'Let them strike three hundred blows with the ox-goad and three hundred blows with the Sroshô-charana.'"

Professor Darmesteter translates it thus: "'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'"

Mon. Anquetil translates it thus: "Ahura Mazda replied he ought to be smitten three hundred times with the whip of the skin of a horse or of the skin of a camel [that which corresponds to three hundred *dirhems*]."

Mr. Rabadi translates it thus: "Ahura Mazda replied: 'Let them strike three hundred blows with the *duvarâs* and three hundred blows with the Sroshô-charana.'"

Ervad Kavasji E. Kanga translates it thus: "'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?' Ahura Mazda replied: 'He should drive away three hundred (noxious animals) with the Aspê-astra and three hundred (noxious animals) with the Sraoshô-charana.'"

Dr. Geiger translates the word *upâzana*, usually translated by 'stripe or stroke,' more correctly by 'bringing in or delivery.' He further states that he had very often put to himself the question whether by *upâzanas* are to be understood stripes that are inflicted on the culprit. He says this is impossible, and that this supposition contradicts common sense. He doubts very much if any man could have physical strength to bear so many strokes of goad and whip, and certainly neither extraneous nor native testimony exhibits the Iranian priests as barbarians and tyrants. He also says that this would be so irrational, so ridiculous a mode of punishment, that even opponents of the Zoroastrian system must allow that there cannot be any question here of actual blows. It would be advisable to state Dr. Spiegel's opinion concerning the word *upâzana*. According to his idea the point in question is not respecting the strokes or stripes inflicted on the culprit, but on the empire of the evil spirits as it were for the sake of compensation. The question is regarding the destruction of certain obnoxious and impure animals, and the delivery of the same killed to the priest. Thus this conception is best expressed by the term 'delivery.' Herodotus relates that the Magi destroy ants, serpents, and other creeping and flying animals.

Shams-ul-Ulma Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana says that in the absence of any indigenous definition of this word *upâzana*, indeed, it is impossible, at the present stage of Iranian research to give a positive description of the kind of instrument called the *upâzana* or to found any opinion as regards the legal usages of the Avesta people on the mere ground of individual hypothesis. Prof. Darmesteter says if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the text. It may be doubted whether the murder of a water dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself. Now, as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, as we find in Pahlavi translation, it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendidad, that conversion had already been made. In the Rivâyets two hundred stripes or a *tanâfûhr* are estimated as equal to three

hundred *istirs* or twelve hundred *dirhems* or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees. A stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the *dirhems* often made the Sraoshô-*k*arana fall from the hands of the Mobeds.

Dr. Haug translates the passage thus: "'Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one! Whoever violates an agreement made by words, what is his punishment?' Then said Ahura Mazda: 'One may give him three hundred blows with a horse-goad [(later Pâzand) three hundred with a whip].'"

Dr. Spiegel says in his introduction that he does not exactly know what these strokes, which were to be inflicted partly with a horse-goad and partly with an instrument called Sraoshô-charana, meant. He further says in his note that the Parsees translate *astra* by ‹ a sharp dagger,' but Roth has proved (Zeitschr. der D. M. G. IV., p. 264) that it is the Vedic *ashtra*, an ox-goad. Sraoshô-charana is very obscure, and the Parsees, according to Anquetil, no longer know what it means. It can scarcely be a gold coin, as has been imagined, for there is no passage in the Vendidad to prove that coinage was known; and, besides, the buying off of punishment with money appears to have been a later custom.

Ragozin, in his book on "Media," says the following: "No one has ever yet found out what the instruments Aspahê-ashtra and Sraoshô-charana really were or looked like. Furthermore, scholars are not yet agreed as to whether the stripes — so many with the one, as many with the other — were to be 'received' by the culprit, or 'given' by him, *i. e.*, given to unclean animals or insects — *khrafstras* — in which case so many blows or stripes would mean so many *khrafstras* killed, the act of penance being turned to the profit of the good creation by so much damage done to the bad creation. Prof. Harlez, Spiegel, Justi hold this latter view, while most other Avestan scholars — Anquetil, Haug, Darmesteter, and several more — advocate the other. As long as we have to do with a reasonable gradation of punishment, such as from five stripes to ten, fifteen, thirty, up to two hundred, there do not seem to be any objections on the plea of humanity or possibility, but when it comes to a thousand stripes, and in one

case ten thousand, feeling and reason equally revolt and prompt us to look for some other interpretation. One is that corporal punishment, though extensively in use even now among the Parsis, as throughout the East, was very early commuted to the payment of fines, according to a corresponding strictly graded scale. The Pahlavi commentary, we are told, expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement,—the atonement by money, the atonement by the Sraoshô-charana, and the atonement by cleansing; and further, in later Parsism, every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu (the angel of justice).

The word *upâzana* is explained in a twofold way, as it is derived from different roots. The phrase '*upâzanañm upâzôit*' seems to be a verb with a cognate accusative, and so the derivation should equally apply to both the accusative and the verb, just like the words *pairi daezañ pairi daezayañ* occurring in the Vendidad, where the root *diz* (*daeza*) 'to raise' applies both to the accusative and the verb. Let us analyse the word *upâzananâm*. But before doing this, we should note that many times in the Avesta the genitive plural stands in place of an accusative. The same is the case with our word *upâzananãm* which, though a genitive plural, stands for some word like *upâzanãn*, which is accusative plural, just like *pairi daezãn* in '*pairi daezãn pairi daezayãn*.' If we remove the final termination *nãm*, which is the sign of the genitive plural, from the word *upâzananâm*, it becomes *upâzana* only, of which the *ana* at the end is a suffix denoting action. So the remaining form is *upâz*, of which *upa* is a prefix and *az* the root, meaning 'to drive away or back.' Now let us derive the word "upâzôit." It is compounded of *upa*, a prefix showing nearness or vicinity, and *azoit*, potential third person singular form of the root *az* 'to drive' (ā) being the root of the first class, an 'a' should be added to it, and consequently *aza* shall be the form. To this if we add the potential third singular sign 'it' it will become or , 'ae' being another form of *oi*. From this we see that the root *az* 'to drive' applies equally to both the accusative and the verb. The meaning to be attached to the phrase would be 'he should drive away those fit-to-be-driven away.' This interpretation is quite plausible, as it is possible that the country might be then abounding in noxious creatures which,

according to our phrase quoted above, could not but be fit-to-be-driven away. This punishment would be doubly useful, as by it the guilty offenders would be well chastised and at the same time the country be got rid of these injurious and fit-to-be-driven away creatures. The breach of one religious precept can be effaced by the observance of another, and so a culprit being found guilty of neglecting to observe his duty to his religion may be made to atone for that neglect of his by an act whereby he can observe another precept of his religion, namely, he would seek thereby the safety of his co-religionists by causing a proportionate destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit. This interpretation seems to be more applicable than the other, which is owing to the word being derived from another root *zan* 'to strike.' If we accept this derivation as plausible, then the meaning to be attached to the phrase would be 'he should strike stripes.' According to the Vendidad as the minimum number of *upâzanas* (stripes) is five and the maximum is 10,000, we would be astonished to note that the ancient Iranians could endure so many stripes with the horse whip. Another reason why this root is not applicable is that *zan* means rather 'to be born' than to strike, for which the Avesta word is *jan* and not *zan*. Moreover, in this case *upâzôit*, which has no ž in it, cannot be the potential third person singular form of . The real form would be *janyât*. It should be, however, mentioned here that the Pahlavi translators actually ascribe this meaning of stripes to the punishment. The phrase used in Pahlavi for Avesta *Upâzananâm upâzôit* runs thus: '*pavan madam zanashnîh madam zanashno* (or *zanêt*) meaning 'he should strike by means of the stripes.'

A Note on the Probable Date of Zartahushtra

BY

THE RIGHT REV. L. C. CASARTELLI, BISHOP OF SALFORD.

It might well have been thought that the arguments and calculations of the late Dr. E. W. West,[1] adopted and supported as they were by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson in his masterly life of the Prophet of Irân,[2] would have definitely settled the chronology of Zoroaster's life and the early history of his great Reform. (It will be remembered that the exact date fixed by West for Zoroaster's career was B. C. 660-583.) Such is, however, not the case, and important authorities, both European and Asiatic, still hold to a higher antiquity. Quite lately Bartholomae, after briefly referring to West's and Jackson's opinion, declares his conviction that "Wir werden wesentlich weiter zurückzugreifen haben."[3]

It is not my object here to begin over again the whole controversy, and discuss the many arguments on both sides of this much-disputed question; but merely to suggest a sidelight, so to speak, an *a priori* historical consideration, which, if it cannot precisely be called an argument, at least indicates a certain harmony in the philosophical evolution of human thought, which appears to me not without its value. Such a consideration will tend to add probability, to say the least, to the proposed chronology, which, it should be remembered, is really the native chronology, based upon Irânian traditions, and we know that in all countries such traditions are inclined rather to exaggerate than to understate the antiquity of national epochs and national heroes.

Now the name of Zarathushtra is not altogether isolated in the history of human thought. It is one, perhaps the most illustrious one, of a band of brilliant and mighty thinkers who have profoundly modified, nay created, the great philosophical movements in the ancient civilisations of the world. It is thus to be

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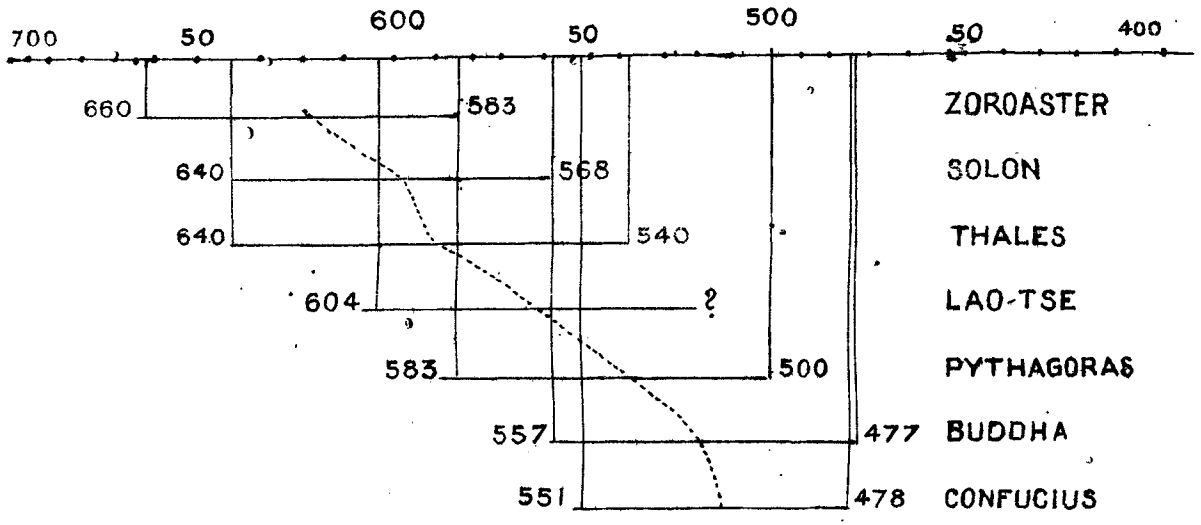
1 Sacred Books of the Eats, Vol. XLVII., Pahlavi Texts, Part V., 1897.

2 Zoroaster, New York, 1899.

3 In Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg, 1904, S. 'V. Zarathushtra, p. 1675, col. 1.

linked with the names of Pythagoras, Solon and Thales in Greece; of Lao-tse and Confucius in China; of Sakya Muni, the Buddha of India. Of all these latter we have fairly certain information as to the dates at which they lived, and flourished. I propose to set forth these dates in the form of a table and with them to compare the date proposed by West for the career of the Irânian prophet.



A study of this table will be found very interesting and suggestive. It reveals—always supposing the date given for Zoroaster to be the correct one—the striking act that during a space of some two centuries, from about the middle of the 6th to the latter part of the 4th century B. C., a wonderful movement of religious and philosopical speculation of the highest kind was going on over a great part of the 'culture lands' of the then known world, in Irân, in China, in Greece, in India. The lives of the seven great thinkers here tabulated will be found to overlap in the form of a ladder or scale. Nay more than this; if we take the middle point in the life of each of these great sages, the point at which each one may be fairly presumed to have reached the fullness of his intellectual powers,—in some cases the very beginning of his life-work,—and if we connect these middle points one with the other, we obtain a kind of curve, covering a space of not more than about 107 years, from the year

622, when according to the traditional story Zarathushtra was seeing his 'six visions' and perhaps undergoing his 'Temptation by Buiti,' previous to his preaching the Law, to the year 515 (or thereabouts) in the midst of the active careers of Confucius and the Buddha. It is indeed remarkable what an outburst of spiritual and intellectual energy during a surprisingly short space of time, but over a wide area, is represented by this curve.

Not that I mean to suggest that we have here a case of successive borrowings or imitations. We have rather a great awakening of human thought in a galaxy of highly gifted seers and thinkers, largely—perhaps in some cases entirely—independent. Yet I do not know but that some subtle intellectual influences from one to the other may not have played their share in the development of each and all. We probably do not advert sufficiently what I venture to call the intellectual *percolation* which has been going on even from the earliest times between the different races. We are learning more and more of the surprising commercial intercourse which existed from primitive ages between the great empires of antiquity, to an extent formerly not dreamt of. And we know full well that such intercourse must have necessarily carried with it also an interchange of other than material wares,—of *ideas*, legends folklore, artistic taste, designs, patterns, games, inventions. In this way doubtless the germs of philosophical and religious thought were able to percolate from race to race, even when the thinkers of one people were ignorant of the existence of their fellow-thinkers among other people. This may explain somewhat of the phenomenon above described.

I am by no means putting this synchronism forward as an argument in the strict sense for the date of Zoroaster proposed by E. W. West; but I do venture to submit that it brings the career of the Irânian sage into a striking correlation with that of the other mighty '*Maestri di color che sanno*,' who shed so brilliant a lustre on the 5th and 6th centuries B. C., and makes one instinctively feel the appropriateness of his place in the development of human speculation and philosophic thought, which may be termed one of the harmonies of history.

A New Translation of two Passages from the Bundahish

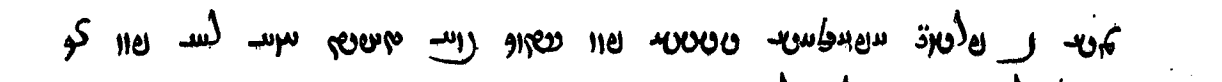
BY

DASTUR KAIKHOSRU JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

Now that the Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund Committee have undertaken the publication of the Greater Bundahish, students of Pahlavi will have greater facility in comparing it with Westergaard's text of the Bundahish generally in use, and of which an English translation has been furnished in the Sacred Books of the East Series by the late Dr. West. This publication will be very welcome also to European scholars who, as Dr. Haug has observed, 'have paid more attention to the Bundahish than to other Pahlavi works,' owing to the nature of the subjects treated therein. The Greater Bundahish helps us in throwing light upon some passages of the Bundahish, which as now understood, are either not quite intelligible or are misinterpreted. The object of this short paper is to illustrate this by two instances. I here give, from Westergaard's text of the Bundahish, the two passages out of many, comparing them with those in the Greater Bundahish called TD_2[1], after its owner, to prove the fragmentary condition of the former, and hence the incompleteness of the translations hitherto offered from the same text.

I. Bd., ch. VII., § 10 (Westergaard's text) :—

TISHTAR'S FIGHT WITH APAOSH.



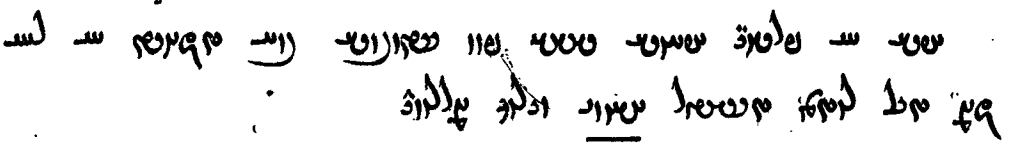
Minash yak farsang apavash shîdâ pavan setuk barâ tâjêd hanâ râî pavan zak chim tîr levatâ tîshtar nîruk yemallund.

[1] The property of the late Mr. Tehemuras Dinshaw, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, and now in possession of his son, Mr. Beheramgore Tehemuras Anklesaria, who kindly lent it to me for collation.

Dr. West's translation (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 27):—

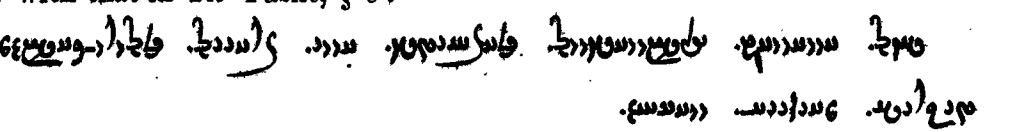
"A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tishtar's strength in the sense *of a mile.*"

The text of TD_2 :—



Translation in the light of the amended text :— A mile away from him fled Apâôsh the demon through fright at (Tishtar's) strength; on account of this, they say that Tir (*i.e.*, an arrow) and Tishtar are of *equal* force (*i.e.*, Tishtar, in his struggle, flies as swiftly as an arrow)."

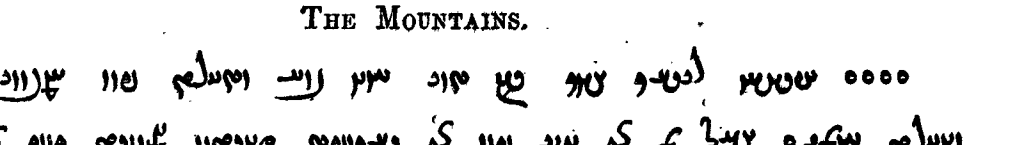
The word (hâvand) omitted in Westergaard's copy and supplied in TD_2, as underlined above, throws light on the subject; and the passage, moreover, is in conformity with that in Tir Yasht, § 6 :—



"Who (Tishtar) flies, towards the sea Vouru-kasha, as swiftly as a swiftly darted arrow."

II. Bd., ch. VIII., §§ 3-4 (Westergaard's text) :—

THE MOUNTAINS.

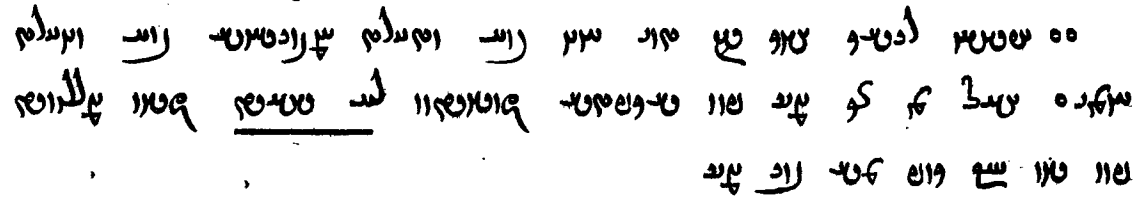


Avshân rishak ayok baîn tani avin barâ vatârt pavan ham-bundashnîh barâ vinârt homand. Âkher min zak jamîk pavan shekupt junditân yemallunêt kup-i-mas band i jamîkan.

West's translation (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 30) :—"Their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, and they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. After-

wards about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands."

The text in TD_2 :—



The last part of the passage, as it stands in Westergaard't text, is clumsy and difficult to translate, as appears from Dr. West's translation ; but taken in connection with the words underlined above, in the text of TD_2, it offers no difficulty.

Translation of the text of TD_2 :—

" Their root passed on that way from one to the other, and they are arranged in mutual connection ; henceforward, the earth *cannot* shake wonderfully [as it did when there were no mountains on it] because it is said in revelation that a great mountain is the knot of lands [or, a great mountain is a fetter (band) to tie the earth with.] "

Cf. this notion with the following lines from the Introduction to Saadi's Bostan :—

زمین از تپ لرزه آمد ستوه ∴ فرو کوفت بردامنش میخ کوه

" The earth was afflicted with the perturbation of the earthquake. He (therefore) drove in a mountain as a nail on its skirt."

The Bundahish and the Paradise Lost

BY

NÂIB-DASTUR MINOCHER JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

In an interesting paper on "The Modern Avesta of Milton," contributed by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar in the "Cama Memorial Volume," the creation of the world and other subjects treated by Milton in his "Paradise Lost" have been compared with those in the Avesta and the Pahlavi books. This paper is, as it were, a continuation of the same subject, or a supplement to that paper. Herein I beg to point out a few more passages in Milton which offer a curious contrast with those in Pahlavi works especially in the Bundahish.

1. The Allegory of Sin and Death.

T' whom thus the portress of Hell-gate repli'd.
'Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul? once deem'd so fair
In Heav'n, when at th' assembly, and in sight
Of all the seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swam
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
Threw forth; till on the left side opening wide,
Likest to thee in shape and countenance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a goddess arm'd
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd
All th' host of Heaven; back they recoil'd afraid
At first and call'd me Sin: and for a sign

Portentous held me; but familiar grown,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st
With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
A growing burden. —(P. L., II., ll. 746-767.)

Bd., ch. III., §§ 3-9.—3. Severally they (the archfiends) twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him (Ahraman) not and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked Gêh came, at the completion of the three thousand years. §4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' §5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man. §6. And again, the wicked Gêh shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us!' §7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed Gêh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in Gêh. §8. He shouted to Gêh thus: 'What is thy wish so that I may give it thee?' And Gêh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* me.' §9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to Gêh, and that brought the thoughts of Gêh to him.[1]

As is seen from the above passage of the Bundahish, Gêh is first discountenanced by Ahraman, and so is Sin by Satan (ll. 747-48). Satan, in his confusion, was not able to contend with his foes, and so Sin, his own malformation, assisted him in his task. According to the Bundahish, Ahraman was not able to lift up his head till Gêh came. Again, Gêh told Ahraman to give her 'a man'; and then Ahraman himself appeared as a young man of fifteen years to Gêh. This is Death according to Milton.

[1] West's translation of Bd. in S. B. E., Vol. V.

Pensive here I sat
Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,
Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
At last this odious offspring whom thou seest,
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
Transform'd: but he, my inbred enemy,
Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal dart,
Made to destroy: I fled, and cri'd out, Death.
—(P. L., II., ll. 777-87.)

Cf. James I., 15:—Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin when it is finished, bringeth forth death.

2. Haoma and the Tree of Life.

Immortal amarant, a flower which once
In Paradise, fast by the tree of Life
Began to bloom, but soon for Man's offence
To Heaven remov'd where first it grew, there grows,
And flow'rs aloft shading the fount of Life,
And where the river of Bliss through midst of Heav'n
Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream.
— (P. L., III., ll. 353-59.)

Bd., ch. XXVII., § 4.—Near to that tree (the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded) the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr; everyone who eats it becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom; and it is the chief of plants.

Amarant (*a*, not and *mar*, to die) means not fading, not dying. One epithet of Hôm is *dur-aosha*, expelling death.

3. The Garden of Eden.

Before the coming on of the Adversary (Satan), the Garden of Eden contained

Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose.

—(P. L., IV., l. 256.)

Bd., ch. XXVII., §1.—On the nature of plants it says in revelation that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark, and thorny.

4. The Sun.

Thou sun, of the great world both *eye* and soul.

—(P. L., V., l. 171.)

Ys. I., §11.—Hvarecha khshaetahê aurvat-aspahê dôithrahê Ahurahê Mazdâo = The resplendent sun, of rapid steeds, the *eye* of Ahura Mazda.

Cf. also Rig-Veda, where the sun is called the *eye* of Varuna. The sun is also called '*mundi oculus*' by Ovid.

5. The Stream of Lamentations.

. . . . . Along the banks
Of four infernal rivers that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

In Virâf-Nâmeh, ch. XVI., Ardâi Virâf gives the description of a gloomy river formed of the tears shed unlawfully for the departed. On the bank of this river Virâf saw some souls crossing the river with difficulty, and some unable to cross it, as their relatives had grieved immoderately for them. Hence Sarosh and Âdar, the guides of Virâf, tell him to exhort the people of the world not to shed tears and express sorrow for the departed.

Dante also refers to such a stream called Acheron in his Divine Comedy (see "Asiatic Papers," by Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, p. 40).

6. The First Human Pair.

Adam and Eve, and Mâshya and Mâshyôî.
To whom thus Eve repli'd: 'O thou for whom
And from whom I was form'd flesh of thy flesh.'
—(P. L. IV., ll. 440-41.)

Return fair Eve;
Whom fli'st thou? whom thou fli'st, of him thou art
His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart
Substantial life. . . . —(P. L. IV, ll. 481-85.)

Bd., ch. XV., § 23.—In forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rîvâs-*plant*, and the fifteen years of *its* fifteen leaves, Mâshya and Mâshyôî grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders, and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. (3) And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together, that it was not clear which is the male and which the female.

7. Blissful Solitude and Innocence.

Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy garden plac't,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love
In blissful solitude. —(P. L. III, ll. 65-69.)

According to Bd., ch. XV., §§ 6-8, Mâshya and Mâshyôî were created 'perfect in devotion,' but 'afterwards antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were thoroughly corrupted.'

§ 6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mâshya and Mâshyôî thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion by me. . . . Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; . . . and the first words spoken by them were these, that

Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness.

8. Discord.

They sat them down to weep; nor only tears
Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worse within
Began to rise; high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord; and shook sore
Their inward state of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now tost and turbulent.

—(P. L. IX., ll. 1121-26.)

Bd., ch. XV., § 17.—Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, and smote and tore their hair and cheeks.

9. The Covering of Guilt.

Those leaves
They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe,
And with what skill they had, together sew'd,
To gird their waist; vain covering if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded shame; O how unlike
To that first naked glory!

The happy pair 'with native honour clad' in their state of innocence was now forced to cover itself with herbs and leaves.

Cf. Bd., ch. XV., §§10 and 15.—§10. They had gone thirty days without food, covered with clothing of herbage. §15. First, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared from a cloth woven in the wilderness.

10. Guilty Shame.

For never did thy beauty since the day
I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd

With all perfections, so inflame my sense
With ardor to enjoy thee, the fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous tree.
So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
—(P. L. IX, ll. 1029-36.)

For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will
Heard not her lore; both in subjection now
To sensual appetite, who from beneath
Usurping over sovran Reason claim'd
Superior sway. —(P. L. IX., ll. 1127-31.)

Bd., ch. XV., § 20.—And on the completion of fifty years, the source of desire rose, first in Mâshya and then in Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus : . .

A Note on Fields for Zoroastrian Archæological Research in Persia and in India

BY

MR. MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., M.A.,

SECRETARY OF LEGATION AND CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES AT BANGKOK, SIAM, AND FORMERLY FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.

The steady advance in Zoroastrian studies made by European scholars and by students in India ought to draw the attention of the Parsis themselves to the importance of paying immediate attention to the many archæological remains of Zoroastrianism which are to be found scattered throughout Persia, their ancient home, and even at some places in their adopted home in India.

Sufficient historic investigations have been made by such faithful labourers as Dosabhai Karaka, Bamanji Patel, Jivanji Modi, R. P. Karkaria, and Mlle. Ménant to prove how attractive for the archæologist might be the sites of the early Parsi settlements in India, like Sanjan, (which was visited by Jackson in 1901, see JAOS. 22, 328–331), Cambay, Anklesvar, Variav, Thana, Surat, and Navsari, as well as other places noted in Modi's interesting article on certain *Events in the early History of the Parsis in India* (printed in *Zartoshti*, 1, 234 *seq.*).

I may state at the outset that the Government of India is doing good work by its efforts in general to preserve the many and interesting monuments of the country's historic civilization and by encouraging archæological researches, as far as possible; but it cannot be expected that any Government will be able to devote full attention to all or even to the more interesting of the antiquarian remains within its territories. The Zoroastrian field for such research in India is naturally somewhat limited and would hardly comprise any monuments of great age or importance, but a large part of the Bombay Presidency offers an attractive territory in which to make identification of sites or landmarks connected with the early history of the Parsis in Hindustan, and this might perhaps result also in bringing to light

new material or restoring old records that would be of value to the community itself. Any endeavour which the Indian followers of Zoroaster might make toward such antiquarian researches would doubtless be heartily encouraged by the Government, even if the bulk of the labour and expense would have to be borne by the Parsis themselves.

Most important, however, is the field in Persia, the historic home of Zoroastrianism, to which I shall now turn.

The scholarly world is more or less familiar with the archæological researches carried on in a thoroughly scientific spirit by the mission under the direction of the French savant De Morgan at Susa and elsewhere, not to mention the valuable work done by his compatriots, Monsieur and Madame Dieulafoy, Flandin and Coste, Texier, and others. The painstaking scholarly Germans from the days of Olearius to Sarre, Mann, Lehmann, and Belck, beside others who have made scientific journeys to Persia for the express purpose of research (like Westergaard the Dane, and the investigators mentioned in Spiegel's *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, pp. 133-148, and in Weissbach and Bang's *Die altpers. Keilinschriften*, pp. 1-10,) have shown how much may be done by being on the ground itself. England's name has been made renowned in a similar manner above all by Rawlinson in his work on the cuneiform monuments of Persia and his studies of ancient historic sites; and Russia, Italy, and America have come in for their share of contributing something on the subject of Iranian archæology. Yet, so far as I know, the only Parsi scholar who has made, to any extent, a personal examination of the actual sculptured monuments of the Achæmenian and Sasanian dynasties in Persia itself, and published his results, is K. D. Kiash, in his *Ancient Persian Sculptures, or the Monuments, Buildings, Bas-Reliefs, Rock-Inscriptions, etc. of Persia*, Bombay, 1889.

In 1903 Professor Jackson, of New York, made a journey to Persia and Central Asia with the express purpose of trying to find traces of Zoroastrianism in its original habitat. His book, *Persia Past and Present*, identifies a number of Zoroastrian sites that were not known before, and calls attention to more than a dozen sites that are awaiting the enthusiastic zeal of some archæologist to explore. The location of the ruined fire-temples, for example, at Marand, at Takht-i-Sulaiman near Lake Urumiah, at Kangavar, Isfahan, Shiraz, Naubandajan, Abarkuh, and of several in Eastern Persia,

especially in Sistan—all of which have associations with the history of Zoroastrianism —should be visited, examined, and fully reported upon. Money should be raised, moreover, for excavations at such places as Rai, the traditional home of Zoroaster's mother, near Teheran, at Veramin, Tus, Yezd, Kerman, Sistan, Gulpaigan, Tak-i-Bostan, Hamadan, and Persepolis ; while financial aid should be given for work upon the cuneiform monuments, especially for photographing, making drawings, taking casts and rubbings of the inscriptions. Funds should be collected after that (and they should be raised easily) for publishing, in an appropriate manner, the results of all the work, and such a publication would be an honor to the Parsi community as well as of historic value to the world.

That such work can be initiated by the Orientals themselves may be seen from the example of Siam. The Siamese Government, and particularly the Department of the Interior under the enlightened encouragement of H. R. H. Prince Damrong, the brother of the King and Minister of the Interior, has shown great interest and activity in preserving the historic ruins in that ancient country. A museum has been founded in Bangkok, and a large collection of archæological material, inscriptions, carvings, curios, and the like, from the ruined cities of Northern Siam, and elsewhere in the kingdom, have already been collected there. Excavations have likewise recently been made near the site of the ancient *dagoba*, or temple, at Prapathom, not far from Bangkok, and the results obtained have been very encouraging. It is only a question of time when we may look for the organization of a Siamese Archæological Survey, laid out on up-to-date lines and conducted according to the most modern methods, and a visit to Bangkok or an interview with Prince Damrong will convince one of what good work can be done in this field by Orientals without European intervention.

But best of all it is when East and West go hand in hand. Shall we say it is premature to hope that the enlightened community of the Parsis may perhaps set such a movement on foot with regard to their antiquities in Persia and India and establish a fund for archæological research with reference to Zoroastrianism, to be conducted by their own scholars in collaboration with Occidental investigators? What better tribute could be paid to the memory of Friedrich Spiegel than to found such an organization in his name?

نیانور 'تو تیانوش' نیاطوس

BY

MON. Fr. ROSENBERG, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

Im kryptographischen Text des Dasâtîr[1] heisst der von Zoroaster bekehrte griechische Weise *Tiânûr*. Die persische Uebersetzung des fünften Sâsân nennt ihn *Tûtiânûsh*. Im Dabistân, der dem Dasâtîr die Erzählung entnimmt trägt er den Namen *Niâṭûs*. *Troyer* sagt in der diesbezüglichen Anmerkung: "We are at a loss even to guess at the Greek to whom these names may be applied."[2] Auf Grund der Angaben des Clemens Alexandrinus und des Iamblichus hält ers jedoch nicht für ausgeschlossen an Pythagoras zu denken. Prof. *A. V. Williams Jackson* constatiert, dass der Name sehr dunkel und seine Lesung unsicher ist.[3]

Pythagoras genoss zu allen Zeiten im Orient grosses Ansehen. Die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke und die Schriften der Pythagoräer zeitigten eine bedeutende Uebersetzungslitteratur.[4] Im Fihrist wird er neben Thales als erster genannt, der über Philosophie gehandelt hat[5].

Während im modernen Abendland die Glaubhaftigkeit der Pythagorasbiographien in Zweifel gezogen wurde und zu erbitterten Differenzen unter den Historikern Anlass gab,[6] galten im Orient die Berichte der Griechen als baare Münze. *August*

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[1] The *Desâtîr*, or Sacred Writings of the ancient Persian prophets; in the original tongue; together with the ancient Persian version and commentary of the fifth Sasan; carefully published by *Mulla Firus bin Kaus*, who has subjoined a copious glossary of the obsolete and technical Persian terms; to which is added an English translation of the Desâtîr and Commentary. In two volumes. (Bombay, 1818.)

[2] *The Dabistân*, or School of Manners, translated from the original Persian with notes and illustrations by *David Shea* and *Anthony Troyer*. (Paris, 1843. Vol. I., p. 277.)

[3] Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by *A. V. Williams Jackson*, p. 90. (New York, 1899.)

[4] Cf. *Steinschneider*, Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen (Zwölftes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Leipzig, 1893), §2 (26) und §3 (27).

[5] Kitâb al-Fihrist mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Gustav *Flügel* (Leipzig, 1871-1872). Vol. I., p. 20.

[6] *Ritter*, Geschichte der Pythagorischen Philosophie (Hamburg, 1826), pp. 1 sqq.—*Röth*, Geschichte unsere abendländischen Philosophie, Vol. II (Mannheim, 1858), pp. 266 sqq, p. 285 (gegen Bentley), pp. 343, 449.—*Zeller* Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (4te Aufl. Leipzig, 1876), pp. 270 sqq.—*Windischmann* Zoroastrische Studien, ed. *Spiegel* (Berlin, 1863), p. 261.—*Cantor*, Mathematische Beitrage zum Culturleben der Völker Halle, 1863), pp. 70 sq., p. 357 (gegen Zeller).—*Chaignet*, Pythagore et la Philosophie Pythagoricienne (Paris, 1873) I, p. 22.

Müller sagt: "Pythagoras nimmt in der arabischen Tradition dieselbe Stellung ein, welche der mystische Schwindel der späteren Griechen ihm angewiesen hat."[1] Der Autor des Dasâtîr, eines Werkes dessen Entstehung schwerlich viel vor das Jahr 1600 A. D. zu setzen ist,[2] rechnete natürlich mit der orientalischen Tradition.

Die späteren griechischen Quellen wie Apollonius von Tyana, Clemens von Alexandria, Apulejus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus und andere berichten allerlei Wunderdinge über das Leben des Pythagoras. Unter anderem soll ihn Cambyses von Aegypten aus in die Gefangenschaft nach Babylon geführt haben. Hier am Hofe des Darius, heisst es, hätten ihn die Magier in ihre Weisheit eingeweiht, hier wäre er mit Zoroaster zusammengetroffen, und sein Schüler geworden.[3]

Ob der Ideenkreis des Pythagoras selbst vom persischen Dualismus berührt worden, lässt sich nicht feststellen. Einen um so stärkeren Einfluss hat man diesem auf die Doctrinen der Pythagoräer zuschreiben wollen. *Röth*[4] findet sogar, dass bei den späteren Pythagoräern die persische Lehre überwog. Die Lehre von den Urgegensätzen trägt zoroastrisch-dualistische Physiognomie. In der von Aristoteles überlieferten pythagoräischen Tafel der zehn Gegensätze heisst der achte Licht und Finsternis, der neunte Gut and Böse.

Nach *West* starb Zoroaster im Jahr 583 vor Christi Geburt[5]; seine im Sinne der Parsentradition ausgeführten chronologischen Berechnungen wollen jedoch wol kaum Anspruch auf Unfehlbarkeit erheben. Prof. *Jackson* hat in seiner Monographie "On the date of Zoroaster" alles zugängliche Material, das zur Beleuchtung der Frage dienen könnte zusammengetragen. Im Resultat setzt er das Zeitalter Zoroasters in die zweite Hälfte des VII und die erste Hälfte des VI Jahrhunderts vor unserer Aera.[6]

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[1] Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Ueberlieferung (Halle, 1873), p. 31.

[2] Cf. *Erskine*, Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 372. (London, 1820.) — *Wilson*, The Parsi Religion, p. 411. (Bombay, 1843.)—Vergl. auch *Norris* (Asiatic Journal, Nov. 1820), der für möglich hält din Entstehung des Buches ins VII. Jahrhundert unserer Aera zu setzen.

[3] Dagegen *Zeller*, op. cit. I, p. 447, auch *Windischmann*, Zor. St. p. 265.

[4] Op. cit. II., p. 349.

[5] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLVII., p. xxx.

[6] Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVII (1895). Abgedruckt in Zoroaster the Prophet, etc., pp. 150 sqq. Siehe auch *Röth* op. cit. I., pp. 350 sqq. und 375 sqq.

Die Angaben über das Geburtsjahr des Pythagoras differieren um mehrere Jahrzehnte. Am meisten Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die 50ste oder 49ste Olympiade für sich (584-576 vor Chr.).[1] Danach liessen sich die beiden grossen Weisen chronologisch sehr wol an einander rücken. Jedoch chronologische Uebereinstimmung gilt für die Legende wenig oder garnichts, wie die in dem selben Buch des Dasâtîr erwähnten Bekehrungen des Biâs (Vyâsa) und des Changranghâca (Śánkara Âcârya) überzeugend lehren. Ueberdies ist der Bericht des Dasâtîr so farblos, dass, wie Prof. *Jackson* bemerkt, ebensogut Plato hineinpassen würde, wie Pythagoras.[2] Es bleibt also der Name. Und der erscheint auf den ersten Blick freilich dunkel. Wie wir sahen, wird der فیانور des kryptographischen Textes im persischen zu فرفیا نوش woraus dann der Dabistân فیاطوس macht.[3] Die Lesungen sind offenbar falsch und die Unmöglichkeit die Handschriften zu Rate zu ziehen erschwert die Deutung. Mit dem kryptographischen Text ist a priori nicht viel anzufangen.—Auch Eigennamen giebt er in travestierter form. So heisst z. B. Zoroaster هرتوشاد دریود هرسفتماد, (XIII, 4), oder هرتوراش (XIII, 20), oder هرتوش (XIII, 64), Isfandyâr heisst سپهناد Jâmâsp جمیسات etc. Es ist also anzunehmen, dass auch فیانور nicht die wirkliche Form des Namens vorstellt. Dagegen giebt die persische Form, wie mir scheint, festen Anhaltspunkte. Man muss natürlich von den diakritischen Punkten und einiger andern bei Schnellschrift leicht mit unterlaufenden Ungenauigkeiten absehn. نوذا دوس steht wol für بوثاغورس — دوذاعورس Auch فیاطوس für فیاتوس — فیاعورس würde einem فیثاغورس—پیثاغورس nicht unähnlich sehen. Schliesslich wäre auch eine Form پیثاغور aus فیانور nicht unmöglich nach Analogie anderer Verkürzungen und Verstümmelungen griechischer Namen im arabisch-persischen Gebrauch. Ich erinnere nur an ارسطالیس (Fihr. I. 246) سقراط (Fihr. I. 10, 260, 272, 357, سقراط بن سقراطیس 245) ذمقراط. (H. Khalfa III. 374, no. 6019) بوقراط (Fihr. 217). فلوطیس Plotin, سمالیس Simplikios (ap. *Müller*, Die griechischen Phiosophen in der arabischen Ueberlieferung, p. 59) Ibn Daklis-Empedokles (*Steinschneider*, Die arab. Uebers. aus dem griech. §4,

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1 Cf. *Ritter*, op. cit. p. 3; *Röth*, op. cit. II., 284 sq.; *Zeller*, op. cit. I, 271, *n* 2; *Chaignet*, op. cit. I., 29; *Windischmann*, op. cit. 260.

2 Zoroaster, etc., p. 90.

3 Für den Dabistân standen mir zur Verfügung die gedruckte Ausgabe, Calcutta, A. H. 1224, und die lithographierte, Teheran, A. H. 1267. Beide stimmen in der Schreibweise des Namens überein.

28).[1] Die gewöhnliche Schreibweise für Pythagoras ist فيثاغورس (so Fihrist I. 252, 314, 352. H. Khalfa I. 72, IV. 461, V. 104, 169, 280, VI. 13, 257. Shahrastânî [ed. Cureton], 265, 267), فوثاغورس (Fihr. I. 287, 357), بوثاغورس (Fihr. I. 245), فوثاغورس (H. Kh. II. 96.)[2]

1 Auch *Steinschneiders* Schrift "Zur Pseudepigraphischen Literatur des Mittelalters" (Berlin, 1862) ist reich an Beispielen.

2 Dieses letztere vielleicht Druckfehler (?)

Some Passages in Persian Literature relating to Zoroaster

BY

REV. DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, LECTURER IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY.

The purpose of these notes is to supplement in one or two places the volume of Professor Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, by making accessible in English certain passages which were not included in it at the time of publication or have been found since then. The selections which I have chosen are taken chiefly from the Persian texts of Ḥusain Vafāī, Surūrī, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, and other Persian writers. Selections from all of these have been serviceably edited by Salemann, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Vol. 9, 417 ff.

1. THE FIRE BURZĪN.

The first two particular passages in the list relate chiefly to the sacred fire Burzīn, which played an important part with the labouring class in the ancient Zoroastrian community (see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 100). Two popular etymologies of the name, which is spelled either Burzīn (with *u*) or Barzīn (with *a*)[1], are offered by the Persian writers. The first of these writers is Vafāī, who lived in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and wrote in A.H. 933 (=A.D. 1526) a lexical work entitled رسالهٔ حسین وفائی *Risālah-i Ḥūsain Vafāī*, or *Glossary by Ḥūsain Vafāī*, which is also called فرهنگ *Farhang*.[2]

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[1] The author of the برهان قاطع *Burhān-i Kāti'*, however, writes it برزین *Barzīn*, and to make it more accurate, he says it is to be pronounced so as to rhyme with پروین *Parwīn*.

[2] This scholarly treatise was compiled partly from مختصر *Mukhtaṣar*, or معیار الجمال شمس فخری الا صفهانی *Mi'yār ij-Jamāl i Shams i-Fakhrī al-Isfahānī*. This Risālah of Vafāī is one of the many sources of the dictionary of انجو جمال الدین حسین Jamāl ad-Din Ḥusain Injū, or فرهنگ جهانگیری *Farhang i-Jahāngīrī*, which was written in A.H. 1017 (=A.D. 1608), and it was also a source of Surūrī's work, مجمع الفرس سروری *Majma' al-Furs Surūrī*. (See Rieu, Supplement of Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum, p. 117.) Two writers are quoted by Vafāī in defending his argument. The first one is معزی Mu'izzi, originally called امیر معزی محمد بن عبد الملک Amir Mu'izzi Muḥammad Bin 'Abdal-Malik. He died in A.H. 542 (=A.D. 1146). (See Rieu, Persian Mss. Cat. B. M., p. 522. The second writer quoted by Vafāī is شمس فخری Shams i-Fakhri, whose original name was شمس الدین محمد فخری الا صفهانی Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhri al-Isfahāni, author of a glossary in choice words, which forms the fourth part of the معیار جمالی *Mi'yār ij Jamāli*, composed for سلطان جمال الدین شیخ ابو اسحق Sultan Jamāl ud-Din Shaikh Abū Isḥak, in A.H. 714 (=A.D. 1343). (See Browne, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge.)

I have followed the text with *u* as explicitly given in the manuscript used by Salemann, but it is quite evident that Vafāī wrote *a* as is indicated by his etymology *bar zīn* and by the explicit statement of Surūrī given below, when he quotes the authority of Vafāī for the explanation of *bar zīn*. Vafāī's own statement (*cf.* Salemann, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, p. 459) reads as follows :—

آذربرزین "Āzarbarzīn, with penultimate *u*, is an آتشکده *Ātashkadah*, or fire-temple, erected with a dome on top. The reason for its appellation (Āzarbarzīn) is given in the following explanation :—One day when Kaikhosrau was riding, a thunderbolt suddenly fell upon the saddle (برزین *bar zīn*) of his horse. They carried the saddle to the fire-temple and left it (there) until the time of Muḥammad's birth, (when) the fire went out. معزی Mu'izzi says in a couplet (*bait*) :

موبد آتش پرستان را دل من قبله گشت ∴ عشقش در دل من [آذر] برزین نهاد

'My heart became the Kiblah of the Mo'bad of the fire-worshippers, because the love of Him placed in my heart [the fire of] Burzīn.'

"But Shams i-Fakhri says that Burzīn was someone of the tribe of Abraham (Peace be upon him!), and that the fire-altar which he built was called [after his name] Āzarbarzīn."

The second writer who mentions the Burzīn fire is Surūrī, who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century, A.H. 1008 (=A.D. 1599), a lexical work compiled from sixteen different sources which he had collected in manuscript form and entitled the مجمع الفرس *Majma'ul-Furs*, or فرهنگ سروری *Farhang i-Surūrī*.[1]

Surūrī says (see Salemann, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, p. 459) : "Āzarbūrzīn with penultimate *u* is an آتشگاه *ātashgāh*, or fire-shrine, which was built by someone of the tribes of Abraham, Zardusht, who was named Burzīn."

Similarly, the learned Anvari says in a verse :

ای نموردار رحمت وسخطت آب حیوان و آذر برزین

'O thou the symbol of whose mercy and burning wrath is the water of life and the fire of Burzīn.' But Ḥusain Vafāī gives the name Āzarbarzīn with penultimate *a*,[2] and says that the reason for its name is, that Kaikhosrau was riding one day and a thunderbolt fell upon the saddle (*bar zīn*) of his horse, and they carried the saddle (*zīn*) to the fire-temple (*ātashgāh*) and did not allow the fire to go out[3]

[1] See Rieu, Catalogue of Persian Mss. of the British Museum, p. 554.

[2] This is noteworthy in comparison with the text given above as *u*.

[3] Surūrī is more clear at this point than is Vafāī.

until the time of Muḥammad's birth. But as far as I can judge, this statement of Ḥusain [Vafāī] is not altogether trustworthy, because, in corroboration of the first statement, the learned Firdausi says in a verse :

یکی آذری ساخت برزین نام ∴ که با فرخی بود و با رای وکام

'Burzīn, who was possessed of prosperity and judgment and love, established a fire [temple].'

2. Zoroaster—his name and Abraham's—his Prophetic Calling—his Religion.

The second collection of data is likewise from Vafāī and Surūrī, and relates to the variations in Zoroaster's name, his alleged identity with Abraham, and his early education and training as a disciple of Plato. A brief account is also given of his religious preparation and asceticism, and of his first miracle, which wins Gushtasp over to the belief that he is a prophet sent of God. Vafāī's statement is found in a Rawāyat (for the Persian text, see *Mél. Asiat.*, p. 475). It reads as follows :—

"According to one tradition (*rawāyat*) Zardusht is the prophet Abraham, but in a tradition which Shams-i Fakhri cites, Zardusht, Zardāsht, Zardahusht (for all three are identical) and Burzīn are two Imams of the Faith (lit. nation) of Abraham, and there is a verse چکرنه الخ, 'As, etc.'[1] And Maulānā Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad Kashmīrī says, that Zardusht, who is also called Zardāsht and Zardahusht, was a descendant of Minūchihr, and claimed to be a prophet. He was a disciple of (فلادوس Aflādūs) the sage Plato, who was the disciple of (فیثاغورث Fīthāgūrath) Pythagoras. When Zardusht had acquired learning, he became a recluse[2] in a mountain on the confines of Sabalān,[3] and devoted himself to asceticism and composed the book which he called Ā[va]sta.[4] When thirty years of the reign of Gushtasp had elapsed, he came down from the mountain, decked himself in a robe,[5] and put on the mantle of the Fire-worshippers. He went into the presence of Gushtasp and claimed that he was a prophet. Gushtasp assembled the learned men and demanded a miracle of

[1] The quotation is incomplete, as the text is given only in this abbreviated form. Regarding the variations in Zardusht's name I may add that the فرهنگ جهانگیری *Farhang i-Jahāngīrī* writes it in four different styles, thus زارتشت—زارد شت—زارد وهشت—زارد هشت Zārtusht, Zārdusht, Zārduhusht, Zārdahusht.

[2] *Cf.* Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 34, referring to classic writers.

[3] According to the text, سیالان *Sayalān*. On Mount Sabalan, or Savalan, see Stackelberg, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 12, 230-234, and Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 53.

[4] Surūrī says زند *Zand*.

[5] Surūrī adds 'white.'

him. Zoroaster gave orders that they should pour molten copper upon him, [but] because he [Zardusht] had prepared a drug and had rubbed it upon himself, it warded off the evil effects thereof. When Gushtasp beheld this he believed in him. Zardahusht was the head of the Fire-worshippers, and the religion of Gabars was founded by him. He believed in two gods; the one, Yazdān, Creator of good; the other, Ahriman, Maker of evil. Some of his followers say that these two gods are light and darkness. But Allah knows best."

The same general statement of Ḥusain Vafāī is repeated again by Surūrī, who cites also the evidence of Muḥammad Kashmīrī and of other writers concerning the identification of Zoroaster and the explanation of his name, but he has some slight variations from Vafāī and generally in the way of greater clearness than Vafāī (for the Persian text, see again *Mél. Asiat.*, p. 476). "In the Nuskhah, or text of Ḥusain Vafāī, it is said in a narrative in the Syriac language that this word [Zardusht] is the name of the prophet Abraham (Peace be upon him), and in a statement which Shams-i Fakhri cites it is asserted that Zardusht, Zarādusht, Zardahusht (all three being identical) and Burzīn are two Imams of the Faith (lit. nation) of Abraham. A verse is quoted چگونه الخ 'As, etc.'[1] And the 'Legends of Zoroaster, Creator of Mystical Meanings,' خلّاق المعاني [2] quotes a verse :—

اگر نبودی شمشیر او که کردی فرق ∴ میان زند زرادشت و معجز فرقان

'If it was not his sword, (then) who made the distinction between the Zand of Zarādusht and the miracle of the Koran?'

"Muḥammad Kashmīrī says that he is called also Zarādahusht and Zardahusht, and that he was a descendant of Minūchihr, and claimed to be a prophet. He was the disciple of Aflādūs, the sage (Plato), and Aflādūs was the disciple of Fīthāghūrath (Pythagoras). When Zardusht had acquired learning, he became a recluse in a mountain on the confines of Sabalān (سبلان Sayalān), and devoted himself to asceticism and composed the book which is called *Zand*. When thirty years of the reign of Gushtasp had elapsed, he (*i.e.* Zardusht) came down from the mountain, decked himself in a white robe and put the mantle of Fire-worshippers on his shoulders.[3] He went into the presence of Gushtasp and claimed that he was a prophet.

[1] See note above.

[2] One might be tempted to regard the latter part of this title as a proper name.

[3] Note the 'white' robe and the addition of chest or shoulders as contrasted with Vafāī.

Gushtasp assembled the learned men and they[1] demanded a miracle of him. Zardusht gave orders that they should pour molten copper over him, [but] because he [Zardusht] had prepared a drug and had rubbed it upon himself, it warded off the evil effects thereof.[2] Gushtasp[3] believed in him. He [*i. e.*, Zardusht] was the head of the Fire-worshippers, and the religion of Gabars was originally founded by him. He believed in two gods, one of them Yazdān, Creator of good, the other Shaiṭān (Satan), Doer of evil.[4] Some of his followers think (*sic*) that these two gods are light and darkness. Thus far the statement of Muḥammad Kashmīrī. Mīrzā Ibrahīm says that Zardusht was from Āzarbāijān, and his original name was Abraham. He went later to Balkh and called Gushtasp to accept his religion. Gushtasp accepted because he [Zardusht] held fire in his hand without being burned. They say that he was a disciple of one of the prophets. His book was in Persian. In spite of the fact that Jāmasp was one of the great sages of Persia, he could not understand most of those words [of the book]. In the time of Nūshīrwān these books were suppressed and destroyed, and the people were forbidden to follow his religion, but it was not entirely extirpated, a remnant of it still exists. I have seen a manuscript in which the name appears both as Zartusht and Zarātusht."

3. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's Account from which Surūrī drew.

رسالهٔ میرزا *Risālah-i Mīrzā*, the Glossary of Mīrzā, containing the brief notice of Zoroaster, to which Surūrī referred in the passage cited above, is described by Salemann (*op. cit.* p. 442), who records the fact that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm wrote in the latter part of the tenth century and died in A. H. 989 (= A. D. 1581). I may add that his account is worth quoting in full, because of the rather free manner in which Surūrī drew upon it. For the text see *Mél. Asiat.*, p. 477.

" Zardusht, who wrote the زند و پازند, Zand and the Pāzand, its commentary, was

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[1] Observe the change from singular to plural طلب نمودند as contrasted with Vafāī طلبید. A notice of the three days' dispute with the sages is given in the Zarātusht Nāmah; see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 61-62, and Rosenberg, *Livre de Zoroastre*, pp. 42-49.

[2] The ordeal of the molten metal, as undergone by Zardusht, is described by Kazvīnī (see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 41). The well-known test in connection with Adarbad Maraspand will, of course, be recalled.

[3] The words 'when Gushtasp beheld this' are omitted by Surūrī.

[4] Notice قائل as contrasted with صانع used by Vafāī.

a native of Āzarbāijān, and the A[va]stā[1] is likewise a book of his. The ordinances of the Magian religion and the Fire-worshippers are recorded in these books. He [Zoroaster] bore the name Abraham. He went later to Balkh and won Gushtasp to his religion. He claimed that he was a prophet and held fire in his hand, without his hand being burned. They say that he was a disciple of one of the prophets. His book was in Persian, (*Mél. Asiat.*, p. 478) [but even][2] Jāmasp the sage, who was one of the great learned men of Persia, could not understand most of those words [of the book]. In the time of Nūshīrvān his[3] books were destroyed and the people were forbidden to follow his religion, but it was not altogether extirpated, but still exists in certain districts."

4. Legend of Zoroaster at Mount Sabalān, Ardabīl, and Balkh.

In the *Sivar-i Akālīm* (صورِ اقالیم), *cf. Mél. Asiat.*, p. 496, there is found an interesting legend of Zoroaster at Ardabīl, and an account of the heavy snow brought down by his imprecation upon the unbelieving inhabitants in that neighbourhood. The narrative tells also of the first meeting of Zoroaster with Lohrasp at Balkh, and how the prophet, by means of a miracle, convinced Lohrasp of the authenticity of his mission. It also speaks of the articles of Zoroaster's faith as proclaimed by himself, and gives some account of the spread of his religion.

I refrain, however, from translating this here, as it is to appear in an article which I expect to publish, in collaboration with Professor Jackson, in the next volume of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

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[1] Written اوستا *Astā* in the text.

[2] Remark that this passage in particular is closely followed by Surūri.

[3] Observe the variation from above.

On the Etymology of Sánskrit áśru, Avestan asru, Greek dákru

BY

MR. EDWARD SAPIR, M.A., FELLOW IN LINGUISTICS,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY.

On reading the Avestan passage in Yasht 10, 38, *asrū azānō hištente . . . takahe*, 'they (*i.e.*, the kine) stand shedding tears' (a passage in which Spiegel, *Kommentar über das Avesta*, 2, 557, and *Avesta übersetzt*, takes the first two words as a compound, *asrū-azānō*) one may easily be reminded of the similar description in Homer's Iliad, 17, 437-8, where the horses of Patroklos are also represented as weeping :

dákrua dé sphin
thermà katà blephárōn khamádis hrée mūroménoisin,

'and from their eyelids, weeping they, earthward hot tears flowed.' Besides the obvious resemblance in the idea contained in the Avestan and the Greek passages, it is tempting to seek also a resemblance, and perhaps an ultimate identity in etymology between the first words *asrū* and *dákrua* of the respective quotations. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to contribute something more to the solution of this much-discussed problem of the etymology of the Indo-European word for 'tear.'

It is evident that Skt. *áśru*, Av. *asrų*, Lith. *aszarà*, are in some way related to Gk. *dákru*, O. Lat. *dacruma*, Goth. *tagr*, O. H. G. *zahar*, O. Ir. *dér*, O. Welsh *dacr*, but the exact relation between the eastern and the western word-forms is still quite obscure, despite the attempts of Bugge (*BB.*, 14, 72) and Hirt (*Idg. Ablaut*, p. 137) to carry them back to a single Indogermanic paradigm. One fact is beyond dispute. This is that the Greek, Latin, and Keltic forms point to an Indogermanic neuter substantive **dák*$_1$*ru*, a noun formation in *-ru* that stands entirely isolated. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the Lithuanian and Indo-Iranian forms, while

agreeing in the absence of an initial dental, differ in the vowel ending of the stem suffix, so that it is not unnatural to surmise the existence of a specifically Indo-Iranian adaptation of some parallel Indogermanic word for 'tear' to the prevalent *u*- stem **dák*$_1$*ru*.

That this latter view represents the true state of affairs is probable, I think, because of the existence in various dialects of *o*-stems for this word alongside or instead of *u*- stems. Thus, for example, the epic and classic Sanskrit has not only *áśru* but also *aśrám* (see Böhtlingk and Roth, p. 106, *s.v.* 2, for citations from Rāmāyaṇa, Mēghadūta, and Kathāsaritsāgara). The Mod. Pers. *ašk* and Pāmir dialects *yašk*, *yuxk*, *yūšk* (W. Geiger, *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.*, I., 2, 306) point furthermore to an older **asraka* (P. Horn, *Grund. Iran. Philol.*, I., 2, 88; *IF.* 2, 136-7; *Grund. Neupers. Etymol.* 21), probably an amplification in *-ka-* of an older *a*- (Idg. *o*-) stem (*cf.* *-mā* in Lat. *dacruma*). Again, the Lithuanian shows a feminine *ā*- stem, best regarded as a transfer from an original neuter *o*-stem due to the loss of the neuter gender in Lithuanian, in which an original neuter *u*- stem would certainly have become a masculine in *-ùs*; an **aszarù* could become only **aszaràs*, not *aszarà*, *cf.* *medùs* from Idg. **médhu*, Skt. *mádhu*. Finally, the Goth. *tagr* represents a Germanic **tagrám*, Idg. **dak*$_1$*róm*.

With reference to the Gothic form just given, it has been argued by Streitberg (*Urg. Gram.* §147*a*), following Hirt and van Helten, that the Gothic form goes back to a Germanic **tagru* in which the *-u* regularly dropped after a long syllable, thus causing a transfer to the neuter *a*- stems. There are several objections to this. First of all, the existence of the phonetic law is itself very doubtful, in my opinion, and Streitberg's other supposed examples of its efficacy can easily be otherwise explained; secondly, even if true, one does not see why an analogical restoration of the *-u* should not have taken place here as well as in the long-stemmed masculines (*sidus : thaúrnus* from * *thaúrns* = *faíhu* : **tagru* from *tagr*, *cf.* *leithu* and *gairu*); thirdly, the analogy of the cognate forms in *-u* (Gk. *dákru*, Skt. *áśru*) would lead us to expect **tahr* from Germanic **táxru*, with the accent on the first syllable, and I may add that the suggestion of Hirt (*Idg. Akzent*, pp. 219–20) that an original **tahr* was influenced by *tagrjan* is unlikely, since denominative verbs follow the form of the noun, not *vice versa*.

As a net result up to this point we may safely postulate, I believe, ân Idg. **ak₁róm*, **dak₁róm* alongside of **dák₁ru* (observe the proportion *áśru* : Gk. *dákru* = *aśrám* : Goth. *tagr* ; in Idg. terms **ák₁ru* : *dák₁ru* = **ak₁róm* : **dak₁róm*).

The question next arises as to how the four forms are related. Evidently there has been a contamination of two originally distinct words, owing to identity of meaning (M. H. G. *traher*, Judeo-Ger. *trer*, 'tear,' is probably similarly a contamination of *zaher* and *trahen*, rather than directly derived from Idg. **drák₁ru*). I believe the two forms **dák₁ru* and **ak₁róm* or **ok₁róm* (in case the Homeric Gk. *okruóeis* should belong here, as de Saussure, M. S. L. 7, 89, suggests) subsisted side by side in Indogermanic ; **dák₁ru* caused a change of **ak₁róm* or **ok₁róm* to **ák₁ru* or **ók₁ru*, while **ak₁róm* (**ok₁róm*) contaminated **dák₁ru* to **dak₁róm* (Goth. *tagr*) or, with retained accent, to **dák₁rom* (Germanic **táxram* whence O. H. G. *zahar*, A. S. *téar*, O. Icel. *tár*).

I have tried to establish the previous existence of Idg. **dák₁ru* and **ak₁róm* (**ok₁róm*) as distinct words. Can we now go further and elucidate their formation? I think the very isolation of a neuter substantive in *-ru* gives us a clue for the explanation of **dák₁ru*. A fairly common Indogermanic formation was that of adjectives ending in *-rús* and *-lús*, formed form verb stems. As examples, I may cite Skt. *dhārú* 'sucking,' *bhīrú* 'timid,' Av. *vandru* 'desiring,' Lith. *budrùs* 'watchful,' *iszmatrùs* 'sharp-sighted,' *iszteklùs* 'sufficient' (see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2, 304, and Whitney, *Skt. Gram.* § 1192). From a verbal base **dak₁e* 'to bite' (Skt *dáṁśati*, Gk. *dakeîn*) is readily formed in absolutely parallel fashion an adjective **dak₁rús* 'biting.' The neuter **dak₁rú* can very easily have been used with the neuter substantive **wodṓr* (**wodṓ*) as an attributive of 'tear' (*cf.* Ger. *Augenwasser* for a similar word) : **dak₁rú wodṓr* 'biting water.' The idea of 'biting' may of course be taken either in the sense of 'causing pain or sorrow, doleful,' or in the more literal one of 'acrid, *i.e.*, salty.' As an adjective, **dak₁rú* was oxytone in its accent, and when it became specialized in meaning as the common appellation for 'tear,' the noun 'water' with which it agreed in gender could be omitted, and a drawing back of the accent would follow on its ceasing to be felt as an adjective, in conformity with other neuter *u*- stems (*cf.* Skt. *jānu*, *dāru*, *mádhu*, *pásu*, Goth. *faihu* ; see Hirt, *Idg. Akzent*, 219-20.)

This more or less transparent etymology of **dák₁ru* will suggest a similar one for **ak₁róm* (**ok₁róm*). This word, as shown by its suffix and accent, is clearly adjectival in form (*cf.* Skt. *rudhirás*, *bhadrás*, Gk. *kudrós*, *eruthrós* for *-ró-* adjectives but Skt. *ájras*, substantive). It is, in fact, nothing but the neuter gender of the Idg. adjective **ak₁rós* 'sharp, pointed,' seen in Skt. *caturaśrás*, Gk. *ákros* (instead of **akrós* perhaps by levelling due to substantivized *ákrā* f. *ákron* n.), O. Ir. *ér* from **ak₁rós* like *dér* from **dák₁ru*, O. C. Sl. *ostrŭ*, Lith. *asztrùs* (with probably unoriginal *u*- stem).**ak₁rós* is a *-ró-* adjectival formation from the root, **āk₁* (Lat. *ācer*) **ak₁* (further derivatives, are Gk. *akís*, Lat. *acus*), **ok₁* (Skt. *aśri-*, Gk. *ókris*, Lat. *ocris*, O. Ir. *ochar*) ; a parallel form **ak₁erós* (seen in O. Ir. *acher*, sharp, rough), is probably back of the Lith. *aszarà* with its difficult second vowel. The meaning 'sharp' of **ak₁róm (wodōr)* may again be either interpreted as 'causing pain, sorrowful' or as 'sharp in taste, *i.e.*, salty.' We thus arrive at the result that **dák₁ru* and **ak₁rṓm* (**ok₁róm*) are distinct in form, but psychologically identical Both are adjectives defining a noun 'water' as 'sharp, biting,' which is truly an apt enough description of 'tear.' The attributive character of the term for 'tear' explains also the use of two different words, and there may have been others. It was necessary to characterize or describe 'tear' as a certain kind of water.; evidently more than one verbal base was available for the formation of a suitable derivative. [Since this article was written I have had the opportunity of consulting Walde's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache*, recently published, and was pleased to find that under the word *lacrima* the explanation of the various Indo-Germanic forms for 'tear' is in part identical with the explanation proposed in the present paper and helps to substantiate the vews here set forth.]

𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌

BY

DR. LOUIS H. GRAY, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

In the Avesta the chief epithet of the moon is 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀, which occurs in Yasna I., 11; III., 13; XVI., 4; Siroza I., 12; II., 12; Yasht VII., 0, 1, 3, 5, 6; XII., 33; and Vendidad XXI., 9. The meaning of the term is given by the translation of 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 in Yasna I., 11, by the Pahlavi 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌, 'moon having the seed of the bull' (so also Yasna III., 13; Neriosengh, in his Sanskrit translation of the former passage, has चन्द्रं च पशुबीजं). The phrase is further explained by the Pahlavi glossator on Vendidad XXI. 9, as follows: 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐

of the bull, the god radiant, glorious, rich in possessions, glowing, potent, beauteous, abounding in wealth, cunning, bountiful in weal, with a fixed abode, goodly, a healing god.'

Obscure though certain of these epithets are, it is at least clear from this passage that the moon is addressed as a deity of fertility and as the producer of all manner of boons, while the growth of the golden plants is particularly ascribed to this divinity. This is of significance, as Parsi tradition rightly recognizes, in the determination of the meaning of the term هوسطريوك. The epithet itself receives its fullest explanation in the Pahlavi gloss on Yasht VII., 1, edited by Darmesteter, *Etudes Iraniennes* II., 292-293, running thus, in his transcription: —

Gōspand tōkhmakīh ān āigh Vahūmano u māh u Gōshūrunag kulā 3 gōspand tōkhmak havmand: zakē man Vahūman mīnōī avīnāk agiriftār u min Vahūman barā māh tāshīt yeqōyemūnīt pun vīnākīh u agiriftārīh; u min māh barā Gōshūrund tāshīt yeqōyemūnīt pun vīnākīh u agiriftārīh, u hamāi danman dām dahishn pun ,gōspand, u tōkhmakīh u gadman i tōrāān rāyishnishn pun gōspand u tōkhmak gōspandān māh pāyak yeqōyemūnīt, 'the seedship of cattle is thus: Vahūman and the moon and Gōshūrun all three have the seed of cattle; Vahūman is a spirit invisible and unseizable, and from Vahūman was formed the moon with visibility and unseizableness, and from the moon was formed Gōshūrun with visibility and unseizableness; and ever this creation is in cattle, and the seedship and glory and purity of kine are in cattle, and the moon preserves the seed of cattle' (compare the Persian translation of the same passage given by Darmesteter, *op. cit.* 295).

The legend that the moon contains the semen of the primeval ox is found, as is well known, in the Bundahishn, so that we read that, after the destruction of the ox by Ahriman (III., 14; IV., 1-5; compare Yasna XXIX.), 'the seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station; there it was fully purified, and produced the manifold species of animals' (XIV., 3; compare X., 2). In like manner, the Great Bundahishn states that the primeval ox was 'white and brilliant as the moon,' and that 'even in the demoniac age Gōshūrun receives the seed of animals from the sphere of the moon and makes it circulate in the world to aid Rām the Good' (Blochet, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXII., 212, 104).

The belief in the bull in the moon long survived among the Iranians. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* II., 285, note 28, has already noted that al-Biruni, discussing the day Mihr of the month Dai (the sixteenth day of the tenth month, corresponding primarily to December 31), says that it is the 'night when the ox appears which drags the carriage of the moon. It is an ox of light, with two golden horns and silver feet, which is visible for an hour and then disappears. The wish of him who looks at the ox when it is visible will be fulfilled in the same hour. In the same night, there appears on the highest mountain, as they maintain, the spectre of a white ox, that bellows twice if the year is to be fertile, and once (if the year is to be barren)' (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by Sachau, 212-213). In Mithraism, likewise, the chariot of the moon is drawn by two bulls, as a fertility-emblem (Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I., 126-128). It is also noteworthy, in this connection, that Indo-Scythic coins bear the figure of the moon-god with horns forming a crescent round his head (Stein in *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1887, p. 157).

The legend of the bull in the moon is not confined, however, to Iran. This fact has been noted both by Darmesteter in his admirable chapter on the slaughter to the primeval ox (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, 144-156) and by Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie*, I., 358-359). The latter scholar, in particular, has collected many passages in which Soma, or the moon, is called a bull (compare also *op. cit.* 312, 336-340). In the Māitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā we have such passages as II., 2, 4: **सोमो वै रेतोधाः पूषा पशूनां प्रजनयिता सोम एवास्मै रेतो दधाति**, 'Soma verily containeth semen; Pushan is the begetter of cattle; Soma verily containeth semen for him.' In the Rig Veda itself we read (IX., 86, 39):—

गोवित्पवस्व वसुविद्धिरण्यविद्रेतोधा इंदो भुवनेष्वार्पितः।
त्वं दुवीरो असि सोम विश्ववित्तं त्वा विप्रा उप गिरेम आसते ॥

'Stream, thou drop (of Soma), finding kine, finding wealth, finding gold, containing semen, in the worlds art thou set; thou, O Soma, art rich in heroes, finding all—therefore these bards honour thee with song.'

If Hillebrandt be correct (*op. cit.* 319) in identifying **इंदु** with the moon, then this heavenly body becomes not only a holder of seed but is brought into specially close association with the kine. As Weber has already briefly noted (*Indische*

Streifen, II., 462-463), however, the Rig Veda goes even further than this in a somewhat obscure verse (I., 84, 15) appended to the legend of Indra and Dadhiañc, part of which is told by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on Rig Veda I., 84, 13 and I., 116, 12, as well as in the Śatapatha Brāhmana XIV, 1, 1, 18-25, and the Bṛhaddēvatā III., 18-24, although none of these passages touch upon the verse under consideration. This stanza, which is repeated without change in Atharva Veda XX., 41, 3, is as follows :—

अत्राह गोरमन्वत नाम त्वष्टुरपीच्यं ।
इत्था चंद्रमसो गृहे ॥

"Even there they learned the secret name of Tvaṣṭṛ's kine, in sooth in the house of the moon." Here is an unmistakable association of the moon with kine, and this kine seems to have been a bull, as is at least implied by Sāyana's gloss of गोर by गन्तु, and as translated by Ludwig, Grassmann, and Griffith, although Hillebrandt, *op. cit.* 520, interprets गोर् as 'cow', and compares such passages of the Rig Veda as X., 8, 8-9; X., 49, 10; and X., 76, 3, which allude to the kine (cows) of Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. Whatever the original character of the Vedic deity Tvaṣṭṛ, he was at all events a fecundating divinity (compare Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V., 224-225; Hillebrandt, 527-528), and his association with the bull thus becomes the more significant. In his *Zoological Mythology*, I., 58, de Gubernatis has called attenion to the fact that even the *Rāmāyaṇa*, among other similes, likens the moon to 'a mad bull roving in the pen' (गोष्ठे वृषं मत्तमिव भ्रमन्तम् V., 5, 1), and to 'a humped bull with sharp horns' (ककुद्मानिव तीक्ष्णशृङ्गो, V., 5, 5). As late as the eleventh century of the Christian era, the moon was associated with kine, for al-Shahrastani states (Haarbrücker's translation II., 367) that the worshippers of the moon honoured their divinity in the form of a calf.

In the light of what has been said, it becomes clear that the Indian semen-containing Soma (moon) is to be equated with the هوم, as Hillebrandt (*op. cit.* 359, note 3) has already hinted. We may, perhaps, go still further, and see in Rig Veda I., 84, 15, an actual remnant of an Indo-Iranian myth—no longer merely Iranian — that the moon preserves the semen of the cosmic ox. That the 'ox of Tvaṣṭṛ' may have been such a cosmic creature is rendered at least possible by the fact that Tvaṣṭṛ is essentially a god of creation (compare Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*,

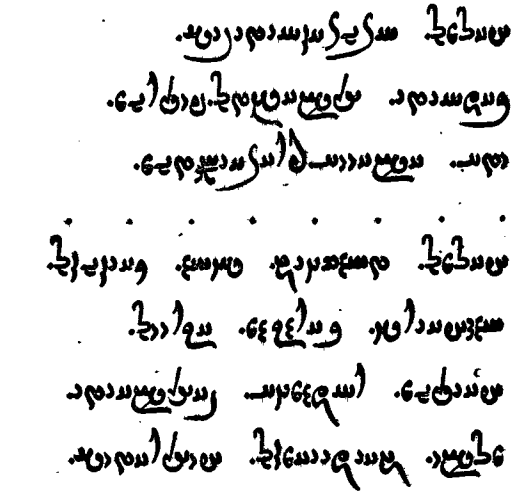
116-117), and the plausibility of this hypothesis is increased if we remember that it is by no means certain that the cows of Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarūpa are the cows of Tvaṣṭṛ his father. Rather they are the offspring of the cosmic bull, as Viśvarūpa is born of the owner of the ox. We thus gain another Indo-Iranian myth by equating रेतोधा with 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬎, and by connecting Rig Veda I., 84, 15, with the narrative of the Bundahishn, thus elucidating a difficult Vedic verse.

What then is this semen which is held in the moon, and why is it that of a bull rather than of some other animal? To both questions the answer is plain. The semen is the fertilizing dew which falls upon the supine female earth most plenteously during cloudless nights (compare Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., II., 158-159; Roscher, *Veber Selene und Verwandtes*, 49-51). The animal in the moon is a bull because of its intense virility, and because the crescent moon most obviously suggests the horns of kine (compare Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II., 285, note 28; when, however, he identifies the bull with the clouds and the semen with the rain [*Ormazd et Ahriman*, 149-150], I am unable to agree with him, on account of the prominence of the moon in the myth). The latter fact leads to the thought whether 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀 means 'having the seed of the bull,' or 'having the face of a bull.' The Avesta 𐬨𐬌𐬭𐬎, like its modern Persian representative چهر, in composition sometimes denotes 'seed' and sometimes 'face' (compare Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 499), and Firdausi himself etymologized 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀 as 'having the face of a bull,' as is clear from his synonyms for گاوچهر, the mace of Ferīdūn, گاوپیکر گاورنش and گاوسار. There is no doubt, however, that the rendering 'having the semen of the bull,' adopted by Spiegel, Justi, de Harlez, Darmesteter, and Geldner, is correct. Bartholomae's translation (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 480-481), 'den Ursprung des Rindes bildend, woraus das Rind entsprungen ist' ('forming the source of the bull, wherefrom the bull is sprung'), on the other hand, fails, in my judgment, to convey the exact force of 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀, which, in conformity with the story of the Bundahishn and the analogue which I have sought to trace in the Rig Veda, denotes not the place of origin of the bull, but the place in which the semen emitted by him is afterward preserved. The epithet must accordingly be compared with 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 'containing the seed of water' (applied to Tishtrya and the stars, Yasht VIII., 4, 39, 45; XII., 29; Siroza I., 13; II., 13;

compare also Maīnōg-ī-Khraṭ XLIX., 7), 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌-𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬎, 'having the seed of fire' (applied to plants, Vendidad VIII., 75), 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌-𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬎, 'having the seed of plants' (applied to the stars, Yasht XII., 31; Siroza I., 13; II., 13; compare also Maīnōg-ī-Khraṭ XLIX., 9), and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌-𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬎, 'having the seed of earth' (applied to the stars, Yasht XII., 30; Siroza I., 13; II., 13; compare also Maīnōg-ī-Khraṭ XLIX., 8).

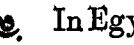
If in the Rig Veda the moon is identified with Soma and is termed 'semeniferous,' while at the same time it contains the bull, then the query arises whether the seed of the cosmic bull, preserved, according to the Iranian scriptures, in the moon, be not another form of Haoma. Hillebrandt (*op. cit.* 450-452) has called attention to certain passages of the Avesta, particularly Yasna IX., 26; X., 10; LVII., 19; and Yasht VIII., 33, in which he believes Haoma to be identical with the moon. A further association of Haoma with the bull may possibly be found in the 'White Hōm' Gaokerena, mentioned in the Avesta (Yasht I., 30; Siroza I., 7; II., 7; and especially Vendidad XX., 4), and which is described at some length in Bundahishn XVIII., 1-3; XXVII., 4. The latter work also has the noteworthy statement (XXX., 25) that at the renovation of the world 'Soshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazhishn ceremony in preparing the dead, and they slaughter the ox Hadhayosh in that Yazhishn; from the fat of that ox and the White Hōm they prepare Hūsh, and give it to all men, and all men become immortal for ever and everlasting' (compare also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 249-253). Although the etymology of 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌-𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬎 is by no means certain (compare Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 480), its first component is unquestionably 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 'kine,' whence the peculiar appropriateness of its association with the eschatological ox Hadhayosh. The White Hōm grows in the deepest part of the sea of Vourukasha (Bundahishn XVIII., 1; Maīnōg-ı-Khraṭ LXII., 28-30), and if this sea, like the Vedic समुद्र, may signify mythologically the cloud-ocean, as well as the body of the water now known as the Caspian (compare, for the mythological interpretation, Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 104, 137, 139, 143, 148, 167), then the White Hōm, which thus adorns the depths of the sky and is associated with the eschatological ox

Hadhayosh to give immortality to mankind, becomes identical with the fructifying [illegible]. Haoma is, therefore, in a sense, the semen of the cosmic bull, and hence may be explained at least a portion of its fertilizing power to which an evident allusion is made in Yasna IX., 22-23.

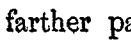


'Unto those that fain would bring forth, Haoma giveth the possession of shining sons and holy offspring; . . . . . unto those that long have been unwedded maids, Haoma, so soon as asked, doth grant a husband [reading, with Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 821, 1521, [illegible] instead of the [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible] of the manuscripts] and a provider.' In like manner, Hom mingled with milk plays an important part in the conception of Zarathushtra (Dinkart VII., 2, 39-52; Selections of Zat-Sparam XIII., 4; al-Shahrastani, translated by Haarbrücker, I., 281).

The Indian and Iranian religious systems have not been the only ones, however, to recognize an association between kine and the moon. The Babylonians sometimes termed Nannar, or Sin, the moon-god, the 'bullock of Anu' (the sky-god), but this was only in the same sense in which the Slavs called the sun a cow and the moon her calf (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 76; Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 40). On the other hand, the great Semitic mother-goddess Astarte (the Babylonian Ishtar, and the Ashtoreth of the Bible [I Kings xi. 5]), pre-eminently a deity of fertility, was identified in the Phœnician

city of Sidon with the moon, and at Tyre she was represented as a cow (Orelli, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, 239-240; Jeremias, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 3rd ed., I., 378), while Ishtar also appears as a cow and her South Arabian male counterpart Athtar as a bull (Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 201). Here, then, we again find the triple combination of the moon, kine, and fertility which exists in India and Iran, although the parallel is incomplete as regards the Avesta epithet  . In Egypt, as Roscher (*Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes*, 15) notes, the waxing moon was regarded as a rampant bull, and as a fertilizing power, while the waning moon was considered an emasculated ox. In late Greek and Latin literature, influenced by Semitic thought, the moon has a number of epithets which are of interest here (compare Roscher, *Selene*, 31-33, 102-103; *Nachträge*, 21-22; Cumont, *op. cit.* I., 126-128). Thus the Greek poet Nonnus (sixth century A. D.) in his *Dionysiaca* speaks of the 'ox-faced,' or the 'cow-faced' moon (ταυροφυὴ τῦπον εἶχε Σεληναίαο μετώπου, XVII., 236; βοῶπις Σελήνη, XVII; 240; XXXII., 95; ταυρῶπις Μήνη, XI., 185; XLIV., 217) and invokes 'the horned, ox-shaped moon, the driver of cattle' (ταυροφυὴς κερόεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη, XXIII., 309; compare also XI., 186). Equally interesting are the lunar epithets in a magic prayer to the moon, apparently written between the fourth and seventh centuries A. D. (edited, most conveniently, by Abel, in his edition of the *Orphica*, 292-295). This hymn addresses the moon as 'the queen that sitteth upon glad-eyed bulls' (ἡ χαροποῖς ταύροισιν ἐφεδομένη βασίλεια, 4), and describes her as 'sending forth the lowing of bulls through her mouths' (ἡ ταύρων μύκημα κατὰ στομάτων ἀνιεῖσα, 12). She is also 'bull-horned' (ταυροκάρανος, 16), and is 'the bull-eyed, horned parent of gods and men, and all-mother to nature.'

(ταυρῶπις, κερόεσσα θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
καὶ φύσει παμμήτειρα, 32-33).

Finally, an Orphic hymn, probably dating from the first or second century A. D., applies to the moon the epithet 'bull-horned' (ταυρόκερως IX., 2), and late Latin poets, especially Ausonius, Claudian, Prudentius, and Fulgentius, contain similar expressions, although here again, however, the Avesta idea of  is conspicuous by its absence. (For farther parallelisms between the Greek and Hindu views of the moon, see Roscher, *Nachträge*, 5-14. Like him, I of course think that the coincidences are merely accidental.)

Thus, though the crescent moon suggests the horns of the bull or cow in Semitic and Semitized Greek mythology, and though the dew which falls most abundantly when the moon is most clearly seen renders this heavenly body a deity of fertility and so appropriately associates it with the bull, it is only Iran and, as I have sought to show, Vedic India which know the story of the actual bull in the moon and which associate the moon with the invigorating and holy Haoma—Soma. The myth of the bull in the moon is well-nigh lost even in the Rig Veda, but is preserved in considerable detail in the sacred texts of Iran. On the other hand, the association of Soma and the moon, so frequent and so striking a feature of Vedic mythology, is traceable in the Avesta only in obscure and uncertain allusions. Yet here again, perhaps, the two earliest records of the Aryan race may serve to illumine each the other. Twenty years ago the first great attempt was made to place the Avesta and the Rig Veda side by side to learn the religion and the civilization of the Indo-Iranian world. I have here sought to make yet another contribution to *Die arische Periode*; and to Friedrich Spiegel, to whose books I owe a debt of which he never knew, these lines are dedicated.

The Transliteration of Pehlevi

BY

DR. J. KIRSTE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ, AUSTRIA.

"What a Pahlavi scholar really wants is some simple system of transliteration which, while it represents something like the supposed pronunciation of the written words, will also indicate to the reader the mode in which the words are actually written." (West. Ir. Grdr., Vol. II., p. 122.)

It is a well-known fact that the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are very often represented in Pehlevi by the *matres lectionis* 𐭠, 𐭩, 𐭥, even when they are not long, and that it is sometimes difficult to decide which quantity is meant. Therefore, as all that we require of a good transliteration is that it represents faithfully the original script, which the reader must be able to reproduce without hesitation, the safest way of transliterating the abovenamed vowels is to use *a*, *i*, *u*. Of course, when there is no vowel expressly written, we are not allowed to use these equivalents, but we might then conveniently write *e*, which already has been chosen by many scholars to render the short vowel of modern Persian words, like کردن, *kerden*, مهر, *mehr*, دست, *dest*, and will therefore do very well in cases like 𐭥𐭧𐭫𐭲, بخت, *bext* or 𐭪𐭥, کم, *kem*, spelt also 𐭥𐭧𐭫𐭲, *baxt* and 𐭪𐭩𐭥, *kim*, as well as in 𐭧𐭥𐭬𐭩𐭬 *xemet* besides 𐭧𐭥𐭪𐭥𐭬 *xumet*. For, if we choose to write *xumet* and *xūmet*, or if we, *e. g.*, transliterate the suffix 𐭪𐭥𐭬 by *tūm*[1], we must look for a third representative of the decidedly long *ū* of words like 𐭥𐭥𐭩; otherwise the reader would be induced to regard the short *u* written by 𐭥 as long; and, on the other hand, in transliterating *tum*, but *būt*, one would indicate that the vowels reproduced by *u* and *ū* are spelt differently in the original orthography.

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[1] West writes *tûm*; Horn and Salemann *tum*, because the vowel is short, although expressed by 𐭥.

Now all these inconsistencies disappear, if every vowel not expressed by a *mater lectionis* is rendered by *e*, and the *matres lectionis* by *a*, *i*, *u*, without further mark.

Regarding the final vowel 𐬎, it corresponds, as West has pointed out (Arda Viraf. Introd. essay, p. xxviii.) in many cases to a Sasanian *î*, *e.g.*, in 𐭩𐭮𐭥, 𐭫𐭮𐭩𐭥, and I have myself transliterated the infinitive suffix 𐭬𐭩 by *teni*, deriv ng it from the old *tanai* (*Vienna Or. J. III.*, p. 322); but on the one hand it may be questioned whether the old sound continued to be spoken in the common language, and on the other it certainly *is* rendered by a Greek *o* in the legends of the Indo-Scythian coins. Therefore, I cannot but agree with West, who (Cama Memorial Volume, p. 108) suggests *o* as the best representation of it. In the legend *raonano rao* we come across the plural suffix *ano*, which corresponds, as I have shown (*Vienna Or. J. II.*, p. 241) to the Pehlevi form 𐭠𐭭[1], which in modern Persian has become و, and it may be that already in the later Pehlevi the final *o* was pronounced like the *e* 'muet' of the French language, before it was eventually lost. This hypothesis would very well account for its being used as indicating the end of a word.

The best way of representing the spirant 𐭧 is certainly *x*, used throughout in the Iranian Grundriss; *h* has also been proposed, but it must represent 𐭣, when that symbol is not a group composed of *m* and *n*, but a single letter, arisen, as I have proved (*Vienna Or. J. III.*, p. 316), from the Semitic *h*, *e.g.* 𐭬𐭩𐭣𐭬𐭩𐭣𐭩𐭭𐭯, *medemehenteno*, Sem. דמה; 𐭧𐭩𐭥, *xeveh*, Sem. הוה. At the end of nouns it is the Semitic personal suffix of the third person, *e.g.*, 𐭯𐭮𐭯𐭩𐭣, *nepsheh*, 'his self'; 𐭪𐭩𐭣, *gedeh*, 'his glory,' and I really do not understand why the Persians should have written the emphatic state at one time *ā* and at another *h*, as has been surmised by West (Cama M. V., p. 99). In any case in a transliteration we must distinguish 𐭧 from 𐭣 (see also Casartelli, Actes of the 10th Congr. of Or. II., p. 209, and Ervad

[1] Dr. Stein, whose explanation of *raonano* I attacked in the article quoted, takes *nano* to be the intermediate form between the old *ānām* and the modern *ān*, what seems to me impossible. He repeats his explanation in the *Ind. Ant.* XXXIV., p. 8, without mentioning my objections. Salemann (Ir. Grdr I., 1, p. 269) backing Stein supposes there to be an interchange of *i* and *n*.

Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, Cama M. V., p. 317).

The 𐬚, *b* is sometimes split in two components, *e. g.*, in the verb 𐬀𐬉𐬚𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *ubidunteno*, 'to do', where the beginning of this letter is shaped like 𐬉, and the end is represented by the flourish beneath the line, which sometimes is wanting altogether, so that *b* becomes identical with 𐬉, *e.g.*, in 𐬛𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *deberunteno* 'to bear.'[1] Now the question arises, whether we are to distinguish this broken or imperfect *b* from the full-shaped one in the transliteration, *e. g.*, in the two forms 𐬨𐬀𐬚𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 and 𐬨𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 found in chapter XX of the Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary (p. 16, ll. 11-12 of Hoshangji-Haug's edition). I am of opinion that we should do so, and I propose, in accordance with West (Cama M. V. p. 113), to use an italicised letter in printing, which in writing is commonly indicated by a horizontal stroke below the line. Thus we would obtain *mekebelunteno* and *mekeḇelunteno*.[2]

The same remark applies to 𐬐, *p*, when it appears in the abbreviated form, *e. g.* in 𐬐𐬀, 𐬐; it must then be transliterated by *p̱*. I think the transliteration by *f* is quite superfluous; why should we discriminate between *p* and *f*, when the Persians themselves were content with one letter?

𐬛 should only be transliterated by *t*.[3]

𐬕 has again two forms, the normal one *c*, and the abbreviated one in 𐬕, etc., rendered by (c.) I discard *j* or *z*. The latter must be reserved for 𐬟.

Besides 𐬭, *r* and 𐬮, *l*, we have a third form 𐬯, which perhaps may be rendered by a barred *l*, thus ł; but whenever the single stroke 𐬌 represents the liquid, we must use the symbols *r̲* and *l̲*, *e. g.*, 𐬚𐬀𐬭𐬌, *beṟa*, 𐬴𐬀𐬌 *keḷa*.

It is an open question whether 𐬝 and 𐬞 represent two different sounds or not, and this question is complicated by the fact that the first character is replaced by the latter, when 𐬌 follows, so that 𐬝𐬌 becomes 𐬞. Hence we have to keep them

[1] I have mentioned this development in my article on 𐬠𐬌𐬱 *bin*, 'between' (*Vienna Or. J.*, II, p. 117).

[2] Here I must print an underlined italic *ḇ*, to distinguish it from the other italicised letters of the word.

[3] This is also the opinion of Ervad Anklesaria, Cama M. V., p. 316. and Justi, Ir. Nam. p. XIV.

apart only when 𐭮 is not compounded, and as this latter is probably related to the Avestan 𐬎[1] (Salemann, Ir. Grdr. I., 1, p. 254), the sound of which is rendered in English by *th*, we may use this equivalent, and *s* for 𐭮, *e. g.*, 𐭱𐭥𐭮, *besrya*, 𐭱𐭥𐭮, *bethrya*; the more so as the English equivalents stand also in near relation to each other.

𐭮 has always been, and is fitly, represented by *sh*, 𐭲 by *gh*, and 𐭪 by *k*. There exists, moreover, a short form of the last letter in the group 𐭭, *e.g.*, in 𐭭𐭭, which must be transliterated by *tarik*.[2]

𐭬 *m* and 𐭩 *n*, *v* do not call for any remark.

𐭩 represents not only *y*, *d* and *g*, but as first stroke of the symbol 𐭭, *e.g.*, in 𐭭𐭬𐭭, also 𐭮, and then it is, of course, to be rendered by *z*.

There are yet some other letters in the Pehlevi alphabet, *e.g.* 𐭪, 𐭫, 𐭯, but as I have not come to any definite conclusion as to how they are to be explained in every occurrence, I dare not offer a transliteration of them.

To sum up the foregoing remarks, I give the original letters with their Latin equivalents, and I add as specimen of my transliteration the beginning of the Arta Virap.

𐭠 = a, x	𐭤 = l	𐭲 = gh
𐭡 = b	𐭥 = h	𐭪 = k
𐭦, 𐭧 = p, *p*	𐭮 = s	𐭬 = m
𐭬 = t	𐭭, 𐭯 = s, sn, etc.	𐭩 = u, v, o, n, *r*, *l*
𐭰, 𐭱 = c, *c*	𐭯 = th	𐭩 = i, y, d, g, *z*, *b*
𐭫 = r	𐭰 = sh	𐭬 = h

[1] This symbol corresponds to the Semitic Teth (Müller, *Vienna Or. J.*, 1Y, p. 353), and, therefore, 𐭮 to No. 9 of Salemann's table instead of No. 16 (Ir. Grdr. I., 1, p. 254, 2nd column).

[2] This group seems to be identical with 𐭭, the second form of the Avestan *g*, as several single letters of this alphabet arose from Pehlevi groups, *e. g.* 𐭬, 𐭥, 𐭯

pun shêm i yezdano.

aitûno yemelelend aigh aivbar axrubo Zertuxsht dino mekebelunt bin gixan rûbak bera kert, u ud bundekix 300 shenet dino bin apicekix, u anshuta bin apigumanix yexevunt xevehed, u axeł gecesteko gennak minoi i dervend gumano korteno i anshutaano pun deneh dino rai, zek gecestek areksender i arumayak i mucrayik-maneshno niyacaninit i pun geran sezd u neperto u dexik uł airan shetro yatunt.

In conclusion I add that every one accustomed to read Pehlevi texts will soon convince himself that he can dispense with the underlined or italicised letters in many cases. Moreover, it must be said that sometimes it is doubtful whether an abbrêviated form is due to graphical practice, or implies phonetical change. Thus 𐭠𐭲, 'earth.' Is it to be transliterated by *zemiḳ* or by *demig*? I do not know (*cf.* Nöldeke, G. G. A. 1882, p. 970).

The Hôm Yasht and "The Bacchæ" of Euripides: A Contrast

BY

ERVAD BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR, M.A.

The Haoma cult is very ancient, instituted even before the advent of Zarathushtra, as is seen from the Hôm Yasht (Yaçna IX, X, XI). The Kavis and Karapans, the seers and the sacrificial Daeva priests of the Vedic times, obtained divine wisdom and revelation, as told in the Rig Veda, by drinking the juice of the Soma, the exact representative of the Avestan Haoma. There is no trace of the cultus of Haoma in the Gâthâs, and it is reasonably supposed that Zarathushtra took effective measures to suppress it, because the Daeva priests, in drunken orgies, instigated the people to carry on predatory warfare on their peaceful and settled neighbours, the Iranians. At least in one passage of the Gâthâs (Yaçna XLVIII, 10), we find the prophet strongly denouncing the excessive use of the Haoma beverage and execrating, by name, the Kavis and the Karapans, the evil promoters of the Soma intoxication. But the masses were so imbued with the notions of the healing and revivifying virtues of Haoma that its worship is again introduced after the passing away of the Prophet. This worship was, at different times, introduced in different countries[1] under different names, resulting in a great many myths. The story told in classical mythology of the Roman Bacchus or the Greek Dionysus bears a very close resemblance to that told of the Iranian Haoma or the Hindu Soma. "In his gentler aspects he [Dionysus] is the giver of joy, the healer of sicknesses, the guardian against plagues. As such he is even a law-giver, and a promoter of peace and concord. As kindling new or strange thoughts in the mind, he is a giver of wisdom and the revealer of hidden secrets of the future."[2] But as he travelled

[1] *Cf.* the introductory speech of Bacchus in "The Bacchæ": I, Bacchus . . . am come to this land of the Thebans. . . And having taken a mortal form instead of a God's, I am present at the fountains of Dirce and the water of Ismeus. . . Having left the wealthy lands of the Lydians and Phrygians, and the sun-parched plains of the Persians, and the Bactrian walls; and having come over the stormy land of the Medes, and the happy Arabia, and all Asia which lies along the coast of the salt sea, having fair-towered cities full of Greeks and Barbarians mingled together; and there having danced and established my mysteries, that I might be a God manifest among men, I have come to this city of the Grecian (cities) and I have raised my shout first in Thebes of this land of Greece. . .

[2] The Mythology of the Aryan Nations, by G. W. Cox, Vol. II., p. 295.

from country to country he assumed new garbs veiling the original in highly complicated stories resulting in drunken orgies and excesses perpetrated under the influence of the beverage introduced by the god. The dangerous rites thus foisted on the cultus of Dionysus met with strong opposition at the hands of Lycurgus, a Thracian king, and the Theban Pentheus in their respective countries. And when the Bacchanalia were introduced into Rome from Greece, the people celebrated the feasts with such scandalous debaucheries and licentiousness that they were at once abolished by the senate in B. C. 187. Let us remark here that although, as said above, the Haoma worship was re-established after Zarathushtra, nothing gross or vulgar about the cultus characterizes the writings of the Avesta as is the case with those of the Greeks and the Romans.

Here is the description of Bacchus as given by Euripides[1] in his famous play of "The Bacchæ" and that of Haoma as given in the Avesta contrasting exactly in the main points regarding the characteristics of these gods.

THE ATTRIBUTES OF BACCHUS AND HAOMA.

1. *Tiresias.* — But he . . . the son of Semele, has invented the liquid drink of the grape, and introduced it among mortals, which delivers miserable mortals from grief, when they are filled with the stream of the wine; and gives sleep an oblivion of daily evils; nor is there any other medicine for troubles. He who is a God is poured out in libations to the gods, that by his means men may have good things. . . . But this God is a prophet—for Bacchanal excitement and frenzy have much divination in them. For when the God comes violent into the body, he makes the frantic to foretell the future; and he also possesses some quality of Mars; for terror flutters sometimes an army under arms and in its ranks, before they touch the spear; and this also is a frenzy from Bacchus.

Yaçna.—Haoma drives death afar (Yaçna IX, 2), is healing (IX, 16; X, 9), is wise (X, 10). "As it is the best for drinking, so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious for the soul" (IX, 16). Haoma gives inspiration (IX, 17; X, 12), health and healing, vigour of the entire frame, understanding, victory, progress and prosperity (IX, 17), the best life of the saints, the body's health, the long vitality

[1] The quotations of the play are from "The Tragedies of Euripides," Vol. I, by T. A. Buckley; those of the Hôm Yasht from Mill's Translation, S. B. E., Vol. XXXI.

of life (IX, 19), good warning of the thief, the murderer, &c. (IX, 20), more knowledge and wisdom (IX, 22), delight and peace (IX, 27; X, 1). Haoma makes a man "victorious on earth, conquering in battles, overwhelming the assaults of hate" (IX, 20).

2. *Chorus.*—The God, the son of Jove . . . loves Peace, giver of riches.

Yaçna X, 1.—May she [the good Blessedness] here spread delight and peace within this house, Ahura's, which is sanctified by Haoma, bringing righteousness (to all).

Yaçna X, 8.—Haoma's stirring power goes hand in hand with friendship.

3. *Pentheus.*— . . . They say that some stranger has come hither fragrant in hair with golden curls, florid, having in his eyes the graces of Venus. . . .

But in your body you are not ill-formed, O stranger. . . For your hair is long, not through wrestling, scattered over your cheeks, full of desire, and you have a white skin from careful preparation, hunting after Venus by your beauty not exposed to strokes of the sun, but [kept] beneath the shade.

Chorus.—Come, O thou of golden face, brandishing your thyrsus along Olympus.

Yaçna IX, 1.—Who art thou, O man! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in thine own body of those whom I have seen.

Yaçna IX, 16.—Good is Haoma . . beautiful of form . . . golden hued with bending sprouts.

4. *Chorus.*— . . . And both to the rich and the poor has she granted to enjoy an equal delight from wine, banishing grief; and he who does not care for these things, hates to lead a happy life by day and by friendly night.

Yaçna X, 13.—Praise be to thee, O Haoma; for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever.

5. *Chorus.*— . . . . Pleased on the mountains when after the running dance, he falls upon the plain, having a sacred garment of deer-skin, seeking a sacrifice of goats, a raw-eaten delight.

Yaçna XI, 4.—Forth my father gave an offering, tongue and left eye chose Ahura, set apart for Haoma's meal.

Yaçna XI, 7.—Quick, cut off then Haoma's portion, gift of flesh for doughty Haoma! . . .

THE TERRIBLE GOD, AN AVENGER OF INSULTS.

6. *Agave.*—Terribly indeed has King Bacchus brought this misery upon thy house.

Bacchus.—[Ay], for I have suffered terrible things from ye, having a name unhonoured in Thebes.

Yaçna X, 12.—So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the cursers. So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner.

7. *Bacchus.*—Let us punish him [Pentheus] ; but first drive him out of his wits, inspiring vain frenzy. . . . And he shall know Bacchus, the son of Jupiter, who is in fact to men at once the most terrible and the mildest of deities.

Yaçna IX, 27-29.—O Haoma . . . . for aggressive strength I speak to thee for that which smites with victory . . . . and for manifold delight. Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful. Divert the angry foe's intent ! . . . Throw thou a veil of darkness over his mind ; make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck !

8. *Messenger.*—Bacchus, as one might conjecture, shouted out : " O youthful women, I bring you him who made you and me and my orgies a laughing-stock : but punish ye him."

Bacchus.—As a punishment for these insults, Bacchus shall pursue you [Pentheus] who you say exists not.

Chorus.—Let us dance in honour of Bacchus ; let us raise a shout for what has befallen Pentheus—a certain death.

Yaçna IX, 24.—Haoma lowered Keresâni, dethroned him from his throne, for he grew so fond of power, that he treacherously said : " No priest behind (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counsellor to prosper them, he would rob everything of progress, he would crush the growth of all !

Yaçna XI, 7.—Heed lest Haoma bind thee fettered, as he bound the fell Turanian Frangrasyan (the murderous robber) fast in iron close surrounded . . .

9. *Agave.*—But what part had Pentheus in my folly.

Cadmus.—He was like you, not reverencing the God, therefore, he joined all in one ruin, both ye and this one, so as to ruin the house, and me, who being childless

of male children, see this branch of thy womb, O unhappy woman, most miserably slain,—whom the house respected.

Yaçna XI, 3.—Haoma speaks his drinker thus: "Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who holdest me from full out-pouring . . . ."

Yaçna IX, 22.—Haoma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line.

Women's Part in Bacchic Rites.

10. *Bacchus.*—The sisters of my mother, whom it least of all became, said that I, Bacchus, was not born of Jove; but that Semele, having conceived by some mortal, charged the sin of her bed upon Jove, a trick of Cadmus; on which account they said that Jove had slain her, because she told a false tale about her marriage. Therefore, I have now driven them from the house with frenzy, and they dwell on the mountain insane of mind; . . . . And all the female seed of the Cadmeans, as many as are women, have I driven maddened from the house.

Tiresias.—Bacchus will not compel women to be modest with regard to Venus, but in his nature modesty in all things is ever innate. This you must needs consider or she who is modest will not be corrupted by being at Bacchanalian revels.

Bacchus.—Will you not think me the first of your friends, when, contrary to your expectation, you see the Bacchæ acting modestly?

Yaçna IX, 32.—Against the body of the harlot, with her magic minds o'erthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures, to the lusts her person offering . . Yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace!

Yaçna X, 15.—I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's emptiness the Gaini's, hers, with intellect dethroned. She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire-priest and Haoma; but she herself, deceived therein, shall perish.

11. *Bacchus.*— . . . Ye women, my assembly, whom I have brought from among the barbarians as assistants and companions to me . . . .

Pentheus.—I hear of strange evils in this city, that the women have left our palace in mad-wandering Bacchic rites; and that they are rushing about in the shady mountains, honouring with dances this new God, Bacchus, whoever he is · and that full goblets stand in the middle of their assemblies.

Yaçna X, 17.—All the plants of Haoma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sundered hill-sides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour thee to the golden chalice over.

THE SEAT OF THE GOD.

12. "Bacchus sits upon a globe bespangled with stars and is then the same as the Sun or the Osiris of Egypt."[1]

Chorus.—And immediately Jupiter, the son of Saturn, received him in a chamber fitted for birth; and covering him in his thigh, shuts him with golden clasps hidden from Juno.

Yaçna IX, 26.—Forth hath Mazda born to thee, the star-bespangled girdle the spirit-made . . . . So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains . . . .

13. *Pentheus.*—. . . Let some one go as quickly as possible, and going to his seat where he watches the birds, upset and overthrow it with levers . . . . .

Yaçna X, 4.— . . . O Haoma, thou growest on the mountains, on the pathways of birds, and there still may'st thou flourish.

Yaçna X, 11.—And taught (by implanted instinct) on every side, the bounteous birds have carried thee to the Peaks-above-the-eagles, to the mount's extremest summit, to the gorges of the abysses, to the heights of the pathways of birds . . .

THE PRAISERS OF BACCHUS—THE YOUNG AND THE OLD.

14. *Cadmus.*—O Tiresias, direct me, an old man; for you are wise. Since I shall never tire, neither night nor day, striking the earth with the thyrsus. Gladly we forget that we are old.

Tiresias.—You have the same feelings indeed as I; for I too feel young, and will attempt the dance . . . . Some one will say that I do not respect old age being about to dance, having crowned my head with ivy; for the God has made no distinction as to whether it becomes the young man to dance or the elder; but wishes to have common honours from all; but does not at all wish to be extolled by a few.

[1] The Dictionary of Geography, Biography and History: article "Bacchus," by G. W. Emerson, p. 196.

Yaçna X, 14.—Before thee, holy Haoma, thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body, a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) *grown.*

Yaçna XI, 10.—To thee, O holy Haoma, bearer of the ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen (by all to be) *mature* (and fit for gift).

THE HORNED GOD.

Pentheus.—You [Bacchus] seem to guide me, being like a bull, and horns seem to grow on your head.

Chorus.—. . . Let us raise a shout for what has befallen Pentheus . . . having a bull as his leader to calamity.

Chorus,— . . . When the Fates had perfected the horned God.

[Bacchus is called the horned God, because, according to some, he taught the cultivation of the earth by oxen.]

Similarly "Praise to the kine" is specially mentioned in Hôm Yasht Yaçna X, 20.

In the preparation of the Haoma in the Ijashne ceremony, one of the ceremonia vessels is the " Basam-dân, or the stand for the Barsom, consisting of two separate stands with upright stems and crescent-shaped tops, hence called 'Mah-ru,' moon-faced."[1]

[1] Haug's Essays, p. 396.

An Avestan Fragment on the Resurrection (Fr. W. 4) with Translation and Notes

BY

MR. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, M.A., COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.

The Avestan fragment which forms the subject of this paper[1] was first translated by Professor Spiegel over forty years ago and has received some attention from scholars since that time, but it deserves to be re-examined in the light of more recent studies, especially because it contains a distinct reference to the Zoroastrian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. The fragment consists of eighteen lines composed in the common octosyllabic metre of the Younger Avesta and originally formed a part of the missing Varshtmānsar Nask. In these rhythmical verses Ormazd reveals to the prophet Zoroaster the marvellous efficacy of the Airyaman Ishya prayer (Ys. 54) in bringing to pass, at the Day of Judgment, the final triumph of Ormazd himself over Ahriman and the restoration of the dead to life.

The events referred to in our fragment are more fully described in the old Zamyat Yasht (Yt. 19, 89), and there is also an elaborate account, no doubt derived from the Damdat Nask of the original Avesta (*cf.* West, *SBE*, 37, 14, note; 421, note), in the thirtieth chapter of the Bundahishn (Bd. 30, 1-33). At the final millennium of the world the Saoshyant and his companions shall intone the potent Airyaman Ishya prayer, and the dead shall rise, and "in their lifeless bodies corporal life shall be restored." With the help of this prayer also, Ahriman and his hellish crew shall be vanquished in a final conflict and hide themselves in the earth, and Ormazd shall rule for ever over a regenerate world. (For detailed information on this Zoroastrian doctrine see Jackson, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2, 683-7; Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 257, Paris, 1901; Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, pp. 75-6, 102; Hübschmann, *Die parsische Lehre vom Jenseits und vom Jüngsten Gericht*, in *Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 203-45.)

[1] My deepest gratitude is due to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, for his encouragement and assistance in the preparation of this paper and for his kindly interest in all my work.

Before proceeding to a detailed treatment of the text, I shall give, for convenience of reference, a list in chronological order of the more important version of the stanzas and comments on the text.

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Translation into English: Mills, *Sacred Books of the East*, 31. 390-1, Oxford, 1887.

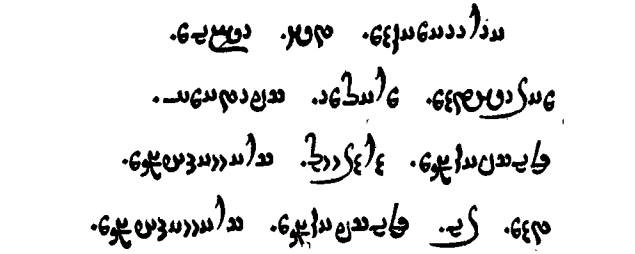
Translation of the Pahlavi version (Dk. 9. 46): West, *Sacred Books of the East*, 37. 302-3, Oxford, 1892.

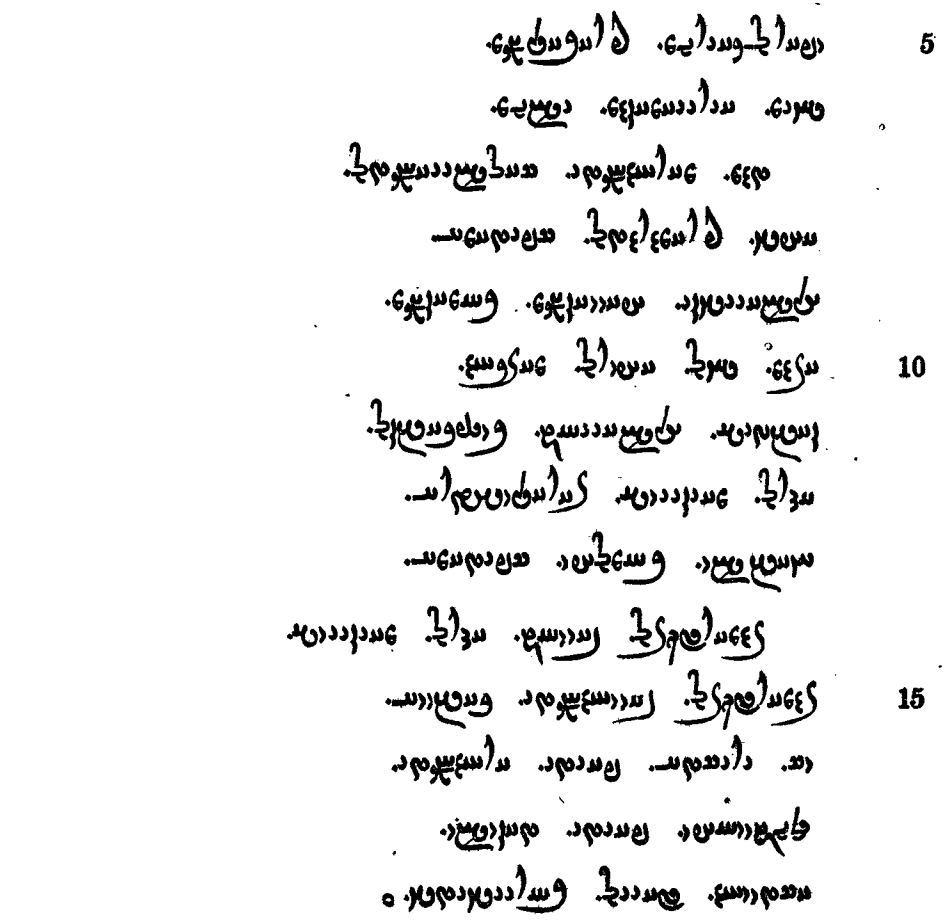
Translation into French: Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, 3. 4, Paris, 1893.

Translation into English: Jackson, *The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life*, in *Biblical World*, 8. 160, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A., 1896.

The text of the fragment has thus far appeared only in Westergaard's edition and was printed there as prose. I have here restored it to its metrical form and have embodied in the text certain emendations supported by manuscript or other authority.

Ft. W. 4.





TRANSLATION.

"The Airyaman Ishya, O Spitama, I name to thee as the greatest, verily, of all prayers; this, indeed, have I made most efficacious of all prayers, (namely) the Airyaman Ishya.

"This the Saoshyants shall repeat; through the repetition of it, O Spitama, I shall rule over my creatures, I, Ahura Mazda. In no wise shall Angra Mainyu of evil faith rule among his creatures, O Spitama Zarathushtra.

"In the earth shall Angra Mainyu be hidden; in the earth shall be hidden the Daevas. The dead shall rise up again; in their lifeless bodies corporal life shall be restored."

NOTES.

Line 1. *išīm* in this line and in line 6 must be pronounced as *išiyəm* in reading metrically. *Cf.* Geldner, *Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta*, § 26.

Line 3. *ərəzvō*: this word is best taken as an adverb, with the force of "verily," as suggested by Geldner (*Drei Yasht*, p. 14, n. 2) and accepted also by Bartholomae (*Air. Wb.* 355). On the other hand Spiegel, Darmesteter, and Jackson take it with the vocative *Zarathuštra*, which is less likely, as Bartholomae notes. The Pahlavi version of our fragment found in the Denkart (Dk. 9. 46) renders the line thus: *min* [*az*] *harvispēn sravān avējak*, which West (*SBE*, 37. 302) translates "of the pure sayings of every kind."

Line 5. *uparō-kairīm*: the rendering "of superior activity" (Pahlavi *madam* [*avar*]-*karṭar*), given by Justi (*Handbuch*, p. 64) and by Bartholomae (*Air. Wb.* 394), is much to be preferred to the earlier translation "working on high."

Line 7. *təm* [*m*]*arāənti*: this plausible restoration of the text, first suggested by Geldner (*Drei Yasht*, p. 15, n. 1), is now borne out by the Pahlavi version of the passage, where the verb is *ōšmurēnd*.

Line 8. *ahe framərətō*: so to be read with Geldner (*Drei Yasht*, p. 15, n. 2) according to the variant, as a locative singular from *framərəti* (Jackson, *Avestan Grammar*, § 254; Bartholomae, *Grundr. Iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 227, § 406). This reading is supported by the Pahlavi, which has "through the recitation of it aloud" —*pavan* [*pa*] *zak-ī* [*ān*] *valman* [*ōī*] *frāz ōšmurišnīh*. Bartholomae, adhering to the text of Westergaard, *ahe framraomi*, sees in *ahe* an emphatic particle ("fürwahr," *Air. Wb.* 280).

Lines 9-11. *khšayeni* . . . *khšayāt*: in its rendering of the lines here indicated the Pahlavi version of the Denkart (as given by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* 3. 4, notes 4 and 5) departs widely from the original Avestan text, omitting entirely the passage from *khšayeni* to *naēciš* inclusive, and taking the words from *duzhdaēnō* to *Spitama* with the following sentence *zemargūzō bavāt*. This is clear also from West's translation *SBE*, 37. 302: "Which Aīrmān supplication they should recite who are beneficial [the Saoshyants], and the benefiter [the Saoshyant], through the recital of

it aloud, O Spītāmān, becomes predominant. The evil spirit, who is heretical, O Zaratūshṭ, with his own creatures, O Spītāmān, becomes buried in the earth; the evil spirit is among those buried in the earth—who are the demons—where their bodily form is completely shattered." It is easy to conjecture how this omission arose, and I venture to offer the following explanation based on the occurrence of two forms of the root, *khšī-*, "rule," in the Avestan text. Either the Pahlavi translator himself, or the copyist of the manuscript which he had before him, was led by the similar beginnings of the two words, *khšayeni* and *khšayāṭ* to mistake the latter for the former and to pass over unnoticed the intervening words. Such an oversight on the part of the translator or copyist could very easily occur in the process of glancing back from the work upon which he was engaged to the original which he was using, especially if the two words occupied corresponding positions in the lines of the manuscript, the metrical character of the passage being, of course, unknown at the time. Darmesteter's note regarding this omission (*Le ZA*, 3. 4, n. 5) is misleading.

Line 11. *naēciš khšayāṭ duzhdaēnō:* this line must be considered metrically defective, lacking one syllable of the usual eight, unless we are to follow Geldner (*Metrik*, p. 172) in protracting the ending of the subjunctive *khšayāt* into—*āat*. On the other hand, line 14 is hypermetrical, having one syllable too many. Such minor irregularities cannot be taken as evidence of corruption, since we cannot be sure that the lines originally adhered strictly to the metrical form.

Line 13. *hvaēšu*: this emendation by Westergaard for the *hvāiš* of the manuscripts is demanded by the metre as well as by the grammar. Geldner refers this pronominal adjective to Ahura Mazda, translating "über meine Geschöpfe," but in accordance with Avestan usage it must refer to Angra Mainyu, and I have accordingly translated the phrase "among his creatures."

Line 14. *zəmargūzō*: this is the nominative singular of a thematic stem *zəmargūza*. (Jackson, *Avestan Grammar*, § 283, note; Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 1666.) Geldner (*Metrik*, § 134, p. 112) suggested reading *zəmargūš*, as nominative of the athematic stem *zəmarguz*, which is found in the nominative plural (*zəmargūzō*) in the next line. The metre, as well as the word-formation, would favor such an emenda-

tion, but it has no manuscript support. It may be worth noting that the Pahlavi. version, in addition to its rendering of *zəmargūzō*, appends the gloss: *aigh* [*ku*] *šān, kalpūt barā* [*bè*] *šk'anīt*, "that is to say, their body is completely shattered." With the power of the Airyaman Ishya prayer over the hordes of the Ahriman, compare the similar efficacy of the Ahuna Vairya formula, in Yt. 19. 81 and possibly also in Vd 19. 2.

Line 16. *Us . . . paiti arāənti*: for a similar use of the prefixes *us* and *paiti* in connection with the return of the dead again to life, compare Yt. 19. 11: *yat irista paiti usehistān*. For the thematic formation of the verb *ar* here, see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 183. Geldner's suggestion to read *marāənti* in this line as in line 7 above (*Drei Yasht*, p. 15, n. 4) is unnecessary, and we may best follow the ordinary reading *arāənti* represented in the rendering, "they shall arise again," given by Jackson, Spiegel, de Harlez, and Darmesteter.. The Pahlavi translator misunderstood the word, taking it to mean "arrayed" (West, *SBE*, 37. 303). Darmesteter makes an attempt to explain that this blunder may have arisen from the translator's connecting the verbal form *arāənti* in some way with *ā-rād*.

Line 17. *Vīvāhu*: it is best to adopt this reading from Ms. K38 and to translate the word as "lifeless" (*cf.* the Sanskrit word *vi-jīvita*, noted by Bartholomae *Air. Wb.* 1438). The Pahlavi renders the last two lines of our fragment as follows:— *barā* [*bē*] *zīvandakīh val* [*ō*] *tan lakhvār* [*avāz*] *yāhbūnt* [*dātand*] *u tanōmand jān yakhsanūnt* [*dāstant*] *aigh* [*ku*] *lā* [*nē*] *yamītūnt* [*murtant*], which West translates "They give life back unto the body, and the embodied life they then possess is such that they do not die." This gives the general sense of the passage, but conveys the impression that the translator did not fully understand the individual words of the text.

Line 17. *tanušu*: corrected by Westergaard from *tanuš*, the reading of all the Mss.

Line 18. *Dāryeite*: the Mss. offer for this word the following readings: *dāryeite* M3, *darayaiti* K15, *dārayāənti* the other Mss. used by Westergaard; all of which point to a causative passive third person singular of the root dar, "hold, maintain." The form here adopted accords with that given by Bartholomae (*Air.*

Wb. 691, 692), who explains it as the logical development of the original hypothetical Iranian **dhāri-iātai*. The metre would favor a verb-form of four syllables, for *astvant* must be dissyllabic, as has been shown by Geldner (*Metrik*, § 39e), but that difficulty is happily solved by Bartholomae's suggestion that *dāryeite* stands for *dāriyeite* and can be so read, *y* being customarily written for *iy* (*cf.* Bartholomae, *Grundr. Iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 155, § 268, 11). Perhaps, however, the line was originally irregular.

Mount Arezûra of the Avesta, a Volcanic Mountain.

BY

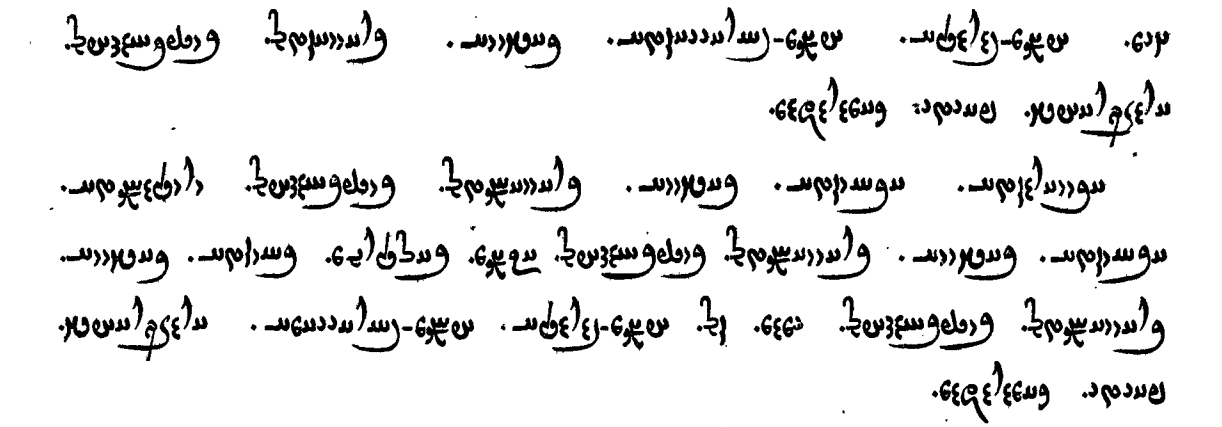
JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

Mount Arezûra (𐬀𐬭𐬰𐬎𐬹𐬭𐬀) is twice referred to in the Avesta.

It is first referred to in the third chapter of the Vendidad.[1] At first, five places are mentioned which feel most joy on the surface of the earth. The first of these is a religious place where the sacred fire is burning and where religious ceremonies are performed and prayers recited.

Then five places are mentioned which feel most grief on the surface of the earth. The first of these is Mount Arezûra. The passage runs thus:

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬰𐬎𐬹𐬭



Translation—" The Devil, who is the evil-knowing, deadly Angra Mainyu, shouted thus: 'Whom do the erring, evil-knowing demons carry with them in an assembly on the summit of Arezûra ?'

" The erring, evil-knowing demons rushed forth and shouted: the erring, evil-knowing demons cried out and shouted: the erring, evil-knowing demons cast a malignant eye and shouted: 'We will carry (Zoroaster) with us in our assembly on the summit of Arezûra.'"

Then follows a passage wherein the demons express their despair at not being able to overcome Zoroaster. The purport of these passages is that the demons thought of misleading Zoroaster and taking him to their abode on Mount Arezûra, but they failed.

What do the above two references in the Avesta to Mount Arezûra show ? They show that the mountain was considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth, and that it was the abode of demons or the evil spirits.

Coming to the Pahlavi literature, we will first examine the Pahlavi translations of the above Avesta passages.

Firstly, looking to the Pahlavi translation of the 7th paragraph of the third chapter of the Vendidad, we find that the commentators spoke of Mount Arezûra as " pavan babâ-i duzakhhu, âig dayen zak shaedâ val ham dubârend "

i. e., " on the gate of hell where the demons meet together."

Then the commentator says of the gate of hell above referred to, that (𐬛𐬁𐬰𐬀𐬴 𐬛𐬁 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭 𐬛𐬁 𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬭 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭 𐬛𐬁 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭 𐬛𐬁 𐬛𐬁𐬰𐬀𐬴)

duzakhhu i azir i zamik min azpar madam âsmân avash babâ lâlâ val zamik, *i. e.*, "Hell, which is below the earth from above the sky—its gate is above the earth."

This sentence says that the hell is below the earth, but at the same time its gate is above, *i. e.*, on the surface of the earth.

Then coming to the Pahlavi translation of the reference to Arezûra in the 19th chapter of the Vendidad, we do not find any more light thrown upon the question. What is most strange is, that in all the manuscripts, the translation of the two clauses of the Avesta sentence is omitted.

Thus from the Pahlavi commentary we learn that therein the summit of the Arezûra is distinctly identified as the gate of hell, which is under the earth.

Now, coming to other Pahlavi writers, we find this confirmed further. The Bundehesh gives a list of the mountains in its 12th chapter. There, a large number of the mountains is spoken of as peaks or mountains, but Arezûra is spoken of as 'Arezûra pûsht,' *i. e.*, the back or ridge of Arezûra.[1]

At another place in the same chapter[2] it is spoken of as 'Arezûr grievak' *i.e.*, the summit Arezûr, or the narrow neck of Arezûr. Then, of its situation, it is said that "it is on the gate of hell where the demons meet together."[3]

Again in the Shâyast-la-Shâyast[4] where the five pleasures and displeasures of the earth, referred to in the Vendidad, are enumerated, Mount Arezûr is referred to and associated with 'the gate of hell.'

In the Dadistân-i-Dini[5] there is a question which asks "In which direction and which land is hell and how is it?" In reply it is said: it is "the place of a soul of the wicked, after the dying off of the body," and that it is in three places. It is then added: "These three places, collectively, are called hell, which is northerly,

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[1] S B. E., V., chap. XII., 2.
[2] *Ibid.* chap. XII., 8.
[3] Pavan babâ i duzakhu munash hamvâr shaêdaân dvârashnih temman vâdunend. (*Vide* my Bundehesh, pp. 38-39).
[4] S. B. E., V., Shâyast-la-Shâyast, chap. XIII, 19.
[5] S. B. E., XVIII., Dadistân, chap. XXXIII. 1-5.

descending, and underneath this earth, even unto the utmost declivity of the sky; and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arezûr ridge, a mountain which, among its fellow mountains of the name of Arezûr that are amid the rugged mountains, is said in revelation to have a great fame with the demons, and the rushing together and assembly of the demons in the world are on the summit of that mountain, or as it is called 'the head of Arezûr.'"[1]

Now one of the adjectives used in the Dadistân for hell is 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥, which Dr. West translates as 'descending.' The same word occurs in the next sentence, where Dr. West translates it as 'declivity.' In the case of the second word the late Ervad Tehmuras, in his edition of the Dadistân-i-Dinih, which is in the press as yet, says in a footnote that in one manuscript the word is 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥. I think this word is Persian كنده[5] (*kandeh*), 'a hollow.'

In the Pahlavi Revâyet, which precedes the Dâdistân in many manuscripts, there occurs the following passage as given by Dr. West. "They say tha hell is the ridge (*pûstô*) of Arekzûr; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell exists is a ridge (*grîvakô*) such as the ridge named Arekzur, and owing to that they assert that it is the ridge (*pûstô*) of Arekzûr."[2]

In the Mino-i-kherad, chapter VI, there is a question similar to that of the Vendidâd, which asks "Which land is the unhappier?" Then the reply is, "That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed."[3] Here, indirectly, hell is connected with Arezûr.

We learn from the Mino-i-kherad that there was also a demon of the name of Arezûr. Gayomard killed him and thus saved himself from the clutches of Ahriman.[4] It was on the Khordâd Sâl day (Roz sixth of the month of Farvardin) that Gayomard killed him. It appears then that either the mountain derived its name from the demon or the demon from the mountain. I think the former was the case.[5]

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[1] Dr. West's translation, S. B. E. XVIII, p. 75.
[2] S. B. E. XXIV, Palhavi Texts, Part III, p. 58, n. 1.
[3] S. B. E. XXIV, Mino-i-kherad, chap. VI, 2-4.
[4] S. B. E. XXIV, Mino-i-kherad, chap. XXVII, 14-15.
[5] *Cf.* the case of the Roman god Vulcan, the God of Fire. From him was derived the name Vulcano, a volcanic mountain in Italy. Afterwards all burning mountains were called volcanoes.

We thus gather the following facts from the above passages of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books:—

1. Arezûra was a mountain belonging to the Elbourz range of the Caucasus.
2. It had a pit or a hollow.
3. That pit or hollow was considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth.
4. It was a seat of the demons.
5. It was considered to be the gate of Hell.

Now, I beg to submit, that this Arezûra was a volcano, and it was that volcano that had suggested to the ancient Iranians the picture, or at least a part of the picture, of Hell.

The first question in connection with this matter is, Whether there was a living volcano in the range of Mount Elbourz of which Arezûra was a peak? Modern geographers say that there was one.

Mount Elbourz forms a part of the whole of the Caucasus range, which contains several volcanoes. Prof. Ansted says of the group: "Many of the high peaks in the Taurus chain, and Mount Elburz itself, the giant of the Caucasus, are volcanic in their origin; but they certainly cannot fairly be ranked as among existing volcanoes, active in the modern period."[1]

Of Mount Demâvend, a lofty peak of the Elbourz, Dr. Edward Hull says: "Mount Demâvend, in Persia, which rises to an elevation of 18,464 feet near the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a volcanic mountain of the first magnitude, is now extinct or dormant."[2]

Thus we see that Elbourz (the Haraberezaiti) of the Avesta was a volcano. Both Ansted and Hull say that its volcanoes are dormant at present. But they must have been active in the times of the Avesta and Pahlavi writers. Maçoudi who wrote in the early part of the tenth century after Christ refers to the Caucasus group as containing living volcanoes. In the 17th chapter of his Maruj-al-Zahab va Ma'adin el Javahar (مروج الذهب ومعادن الجوهر), *i. e.*, "The Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels," he refers to the mountains of the Caucasus. He refers

[1] Ansted's Physical Geography (1871), p. 330.
[2] Volcanoes Past and Present, by Edward Hull (1892), p. 24.

to Baku as the principal place of naphtha, especially of black naphtha. He then proceeds to say : " In this land, occupied by the sources of the naphtha there is a volcano or a source of fire, the eruptions of which never cease, and which emits at all times jets of flames high in the air." [1] We thus see from Maçoudi that the Caucasus had a living volcano even up to about 1,000 years ago.

Mount Demâvend, the highest peak of the Elbourz, still shows some living symptoms of its once active volcanic condition. This appears from the following statement from the description of his visit of Mount Demâvend by Mr. Taylor Thomson in 1837. He says :

" As to the volcanic nature of the mountain there can be no doubt. The sulphureous cave with its crater-shaped summit, the heated air and steam issuing from its crevices, the hot springs at its base, the scoriæ and pumice found upon its side—all show, that it not only was, in former times, the mouth of an extensive volcanic district, but that its fires are not yet extinguished—again they may be lit up, and its action, whether by earthquake or eruption, may cause most extensive changes on the surface of this part of the country. The volcanic action through the whole of this part of the country has at one time been very great ; strata of rocks are contorted and twisted about in all directions. In the neighbourhood of Germah are the hot springs of Germsir, the hottest of which shows a temperature of 148° Fahrenheit. The springs, however, are not confined to this place alone ; at Ask they are very numerous, both in the village and its neighbourhood, although they are of a temperature much inferior to those of Germsir." [2]

Oriental authors other than Macoudi also refer to the active volcanic condition of Mount Demâvend.[3]

We read the following in the description of an Oriental author Ali, son of Zeid : " From its base comes out a sulphurous source which ignorant Persians believe to be the urine of Biourasf. . . . They counted seventy excavations from which escaped a smoke of sulphur. A man of that country who was among them affirmed that this vapour was the breath of Biourasf." [4]

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[1] Translated from the French translation of Maçoudi by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteilli, Vol. II. p. 25.
[2] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1838, Vol. VIII, pp. 111-112.
[3] *Vide* Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse par B. de Meynard, pp. 224, 236.
[4] Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse par B. de Meynard. *Vide* the word Donbawend (Demâvend), p. 236.

A poet named Môcer thus describes what he saw of the volcanic activity of the mountain.

"I have examined the ground with care, and I have discovered a source of sulphur, surrounded by petrified sulphur, which burns under the action of solar rays. I have also found a cavern in which the winds are engulfed with violence and from which come out strange and discordant voices. One believes to hear in turn the neighing of the horse, the hoarse voice of the ass; and, when one hears attentively, it appears that one hears an unknown language of which the intonations are well nigh those of human language, but of which the sense is unintelligible as that of the language of the savage inhabitants of the desert. The smoke, which the ignorant take for the breath of Biourasf, is the vapour which this sulphurous source emits and one must agree to the fact that the aspect of all these physical phenomena lend themselves wonderfully to the legends invented by the people. I have noticed here and there in the different windings of the mountains, debris of buildings surrounded by the mausoleums which prove that the kings of Persia had formerly their summer residence there. The inhabitants say that, when the ants collect with greatest care and in great quantities their provisions, it is the sign of a year of want of rain and scarcity. When continuous rains inspire them with fear for their crops, they throw the milk of she-goats over fire[1] and the rain ceases. I have myself made this observation several times and I have had the proof that they say the truth. They add also that when a particular side of a mountain is without snow[2] it is certain that a misfortune menaces the country situated in that direction. This opinion also is equally true and they speak with one voice on this subject. Round about Demâvend there are mines of antimony known under the name of *razi*." [3]

Thus we see, both on the authorities of modern geographers and of old writers that Mount Demâvend in the Elbourz range was volcanic.

I would ask whether the mines round Demâvend, referred to under the name Razzi, have not any connection with the name Arezûr? I think this name Razzi is a remnant of an old form of Arezûra.

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[1] This reminds one of a ceremony like that of Hom performed by the Hindus in India on some occasions of great national difficulty.

[2] This is something like the present observations of the fall of snow on the Himalayas, from which observations about the coming weather are made.

[3] Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse par B. de Meynard, p. 237.

Irrespective of that similarity of names or identification we have sufficient data to say that Mount Demâvend was volcanic and that Mount Arezûr, one of its peaks, referred to in the Parsee books as the seat of the gate of hell, was also volcanic.

Comparing the description of hell as given by Virâf, one can see easily that it seems to have been taken from what one sees even now on a volcano.

In the Virâf-nâmeh (chapter 18) we have a description of hell, wherein it is referred to as a place of heat and cold, dryness and stench, such as are seen nowhere in the world. It is a place which is deep and stinking. It is like a terrible chasm. The darkness is so great that you may, as it were, handle it. The stench is so great that those who breathe the air there get heated, tremble and fall down.

Now, the traditional story of Feridun and Zohâk, referred to above, helps us to say with greater certainty that Arezûra was a volcano.

Yaqout thus refers to the traditional story of Zohâk and Feridun in his Môdjem el-Bouldan. " Le roi Feridoun, après s'être emparé de Biourasf, le tyran, l'attacha avec des chaînes d'une grosseur prodigieuse, et l'emprisonna dans les entrailles de cette montagne, où il est encore maintenant. Personne, ajoutent ils, ne peut en atteindre le sommet ; il s'en exhale une fumée que s'élève jusqu' aux nues : c'est l'haleine de Biourasf ; autour de lui sont des gardiens qui frappent sans cesse l'enclume avec de lourds marteaux."[1]

Mr. Taylor Thomson, in his account of the ascent of Mount Demâvend, above referred to, says that he found on the top of the mountain a cave. He calls it a "sulphur cave."[2] Perhaps it is in this cave that Baêvarasp (Zohâk) was enchained according to tradition.

From all these authors we gather the following facts : Baêvarasp or Zohâk, tyrant of Persia, was fettered in a cave on Mount Demâvend, a mountain of the Elbourz range. Mount Arezûra was one of the peaks of this mountain. Old writers and modern travellers have shown that this mountain Demâvend was volcanic. So Arezûr, a peak of that mountain, was also volcanic. It was in one of the caves

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[1] Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse par B. de Meynard. *Vide* the word Debawend (Demâvend), p. 225.
[2] The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII (1838), p. 110, l. 21.

of this mountain that Zohâk was possibly fettered. Perhaps it was in the cave known as the "Sulphur Cave," as stated by Mr. T. Thomson.

Tradition says that people believed that the sulphurous vapour, etc., came out of the mouth of Zohâk. So we understand how people connected the volcanic mountain with Zohâk, whom they considered to be a monster or a demon.

Later tradition says that the chain of Zohâk used to be thinned by the flow of the saliva from Zohâk's mouth during the day and night, but that early every morning, on the crowing of a cock, it used to get thick. Perhaps it is an allusion to the volcanic activity of Mount Arezûr of the Demâvend on which he was confined. According to modern Volcanologists, the activity increases or diminishes according to the different seasons and according to the different parts of the day.

Thus we see that according to Parsee books both the Hell and the Heaven were on the Elbourz. From the peak Chekât Dâiti one went both to heaven and hell.

Now Chekât Dâiti is on Mount Elbourz. So it is from one part of Elbourz that one goes both to heaven and hell. To go to heaven you have to go higher up. To go to hell, down to the abyss of Arezûr. Compare with this statement, the view of modern travellers. Standing on the summit of Vesuvius, when you turn towards the crater of the volcano, you see and smell and hear, sights, odour and sounds which would at once remind you of the traditional accounts of hell. Turn towards the city of Naples and its beautiful bay and you at once realize the truth of the Neapolitan saying which says, "Vedi Napoli e poi mori," *i. e.*, "See Naples and then die," and find that the view is charming and heaven-like.

We have the analogy of another mountain in Italy which shows that a volcano was taken to be the seat of hell. Val Deavoli is the name of the part of Sicily where Mount Etna is situated. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans and also among the early Christians a volcanic mountain was usually connected with hell.

Ravân and Farohar

BY

MR. N. D. KHANDALVALA, B.A., LL.B.

"There are few subjects," says Mons. Casartelli, "which present more difficulty, both in the Avestaic system, as well as the more recent Mazdeism, than that of the spirits called Farohars or Fravash. The principal embarrassment proceeds from this that the name is applied both to a faculty of the human soul, united to the body during life, and to that faculty detached from the body and leading the independent life of a celestial spirit."

Professor De Harlez again writes: "Of all the explanations relating to the nature of the Fravashis, there are not two which agree with each other. . . . Do not all these incongruities evidently show that too much importance is generally attached to the isolated affirmations of the one or other Parsi book, and that the Mazdyasnian authors trust themselves very often to the inspiration, to the imagination of the moment, rather than trouble themselves about an accepted system or real orthodoxy."

"In the Dinkart[1] it is said that the principal spiritual powers are the following four: *viz.*, the soul, the vital spirit, *Fravâhar* and the intellect. The *Robân* is the soul which is the ruler over the body; and the vital spirit, the intellect and the *Fravâhar* each act as a spiritual intelligencer unto it (the soul). The vital spirit is the breath of life which is paramount owing to the *fravâhar* which through quickening energy keeps the body active, and when this quickening power is separated the body dies. The intellect animates with watchful light the Lord of the House (*i.e.*, the soul). Just as the soul and its assistant powers are enemies and destroyers of the *druj*, so have avarice, lust, wrath, spite, stubbornness and envy permeated the body as enemies of the soul." This explanation does not help to make clear the distinction between Ravân and Farohar but rather adds to the confusion.

Dr. Geiger says that "the Avesta people speak of the *Manes* of the dead as the *Fravashis*. Taken strictly we must understand by the Fravashi that divine part in

[1] Translation by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Vol. VI, page 353.

men which existing from eternity to eternity unites itself for a limited time with the body." And again : "With the spirit and the soul is united after death the *Fravashi* in order to form from that time an indivisible whole. It would be best to consider the *Fravashi* as a tutelary spirit that watches over man and protects him. It is only for the time during which a man lives that the guardian spirit descends from heaven on this earth and accompanies him on the way."

The subject of the 'Fravashis' is thus a very complicated and confusing one, and without a very elaborate treatment—which cannot be undertaken now—it cannot fully be explained. A few suggestions may however usefully be made.

To understand what the Fravashis or Farohars really are, we must try and comprehend the meaning of the so called *Monads.* These are the sparks that ever were in the bosom of Ahura Mazda. They are units of life and consciousness, and become separated entities when they take unto themselves a vehicle of matter. The Monad that vivifies the mineral, vegetable and animal, is a scintilla of Spenta Mainyu, clothed in the rare matter of the plane of Asha ; and it takes upon itself vehicles of other and comparatively coarser matter. Specialized mind or *Manas,* which is a ray from Vohumano, is not to be found with it as yet. When the human stage is reached, a differentiated mental entity (*Manas*) joins the dual Monad—Spenta-Asha—and becomes the human Monad—Spenta-Asha-Mano, of triple aspect. All things, all forms and existences live and develop through the presence in them of the Monad or *Fravashi*, which is the guiding power of their evolution. These are called *Jivâs* in Aryan literature. In the Avesta not only are Fravashis of the Yazats mentioned, but also the Fravashis of the sky, the waters, plants, animal, man and the whole creation. These Fravashis are no other than the Monads which are the centres of life and consciousness clothed in various sheaths of matter. Up to the animal stage the Fravashi or Monad is as said above dual only (Spenta-Asha) ; but in human beings the Fravashi or Monad is triple, consisting of emanations from Spenta Mainyu, Asha and Vohumano. It is very important to remember this.

During human evolution, the human Monad or Fravashi has to work through the mental, astral, and the physical sheaths. Each sheath limits the manifestation of the life and consciousness of the Fravashi within. While it is working through

the physical sheath, its activities on the other and higher planes are not manifest. The object of the long evolution through different cycles is to make it conscious on all the planes. Clothed with the astral vehicle or body of emotion, it has to contend against and subdue all the force of the various passions, desires and appetites. The *Manas* (mind) often gets entangled among them, and acts as their servant, instead of being their master. The *Manas* reflected in the desires and passions is the human soul or *Ravân* (*Urvân*). It is a self-conscious entity that thinks itself to be separated and distinct from all other entities. It is in fact the *Personality* that endures for one lifetime only, and scarcely knows its parent the Fravashi from which it derives its existence, and which is the true *Individuality* that persists from life to life. At each birth a new *Personality* springing from and attached to the same *Fravashi* comes into existence. The spiritual power of the Fravashi helps to ennoble and purify the passions and desires which are raised upwards, and are drawn into the Fravashi to a greater or less extent in each life.

When death occurs, the desire-body is just as strong as it was during earth-life, and in the case of the ordinary man it takes several years before it is broken up in *Hamestgân*, after which it ascends to the Heaven-world or *Behesht*. As long as the disembodied man remains in *Hamestgân* the Ravân or Personality feels the longings of its passions and desires which it is unable to gratify for want of a physical body. But the desires and appetites slowly subside, and the inner man, now the true Fravashi, unburdened of the passions and desires, slips into *Behesht*, where it enjoys bliss for immensely long periods, and consolidates various faculties through the experiences gained in earth life. The purified portion of the Ravân gets assimilated with the Fravashi and follows it into Behesht, while the coarser portions of the Ravân remain behind hibernating, until they bud forth at the end the Behesht life, to form a new Personality or Ravân overshadowed by the same Fravashi, in a new human birth.

In the Hadokht Nask it is asked: "Whence are the souls (*Urvâno*) of the deceased, which are the Fravashis of the Pure"; and the answer is given: "From Spento Mainyu is their origin, from Vahishtem Mano." Attempts are sometimes made to explain away the true meaning of these passages, as they suggest that the *Urvans* are also Fravashis, and this is true in a certain sense. The human Fravashi

is the outcome of Spenta Mainyu, sha and Vohumano, and the ray from *Manas* reflecting itself and working into the desire-body brings into existence the *Ravân*. The purer part of the Ravân is drawn ultimately into the Fravashi and becomes one with it.

Life and consciousness are identical, being different aspects of the one divine spirit. Consciousness turned inward is life, and life turned outward is consciousness. Matter is limitation without which consciousness cannot manifest itself. As spirits, we are inherently divine, but we have to work through different sheaths of various grades of matter. As consciousness changes through experience, each change appears in the matter surrounding it as a vibration. The Fravashi in the human form fights age after age against the multitudinous temptations and oppositions of evil, working each time through a new personality (Ravân), whose seed comes from the sum total of the past life. If human life with all its powers be taken to commence only with the birth of a child, and to end as far as the physical plane was concerned with its death, the subject of Ravân and Fravashi can hardly be explained satisfactorily. It is only when we consider the past, the present and the future of a human existence as made up of a series of earthly lives that this subject becomes intelligible. The Fravashi is the permanent re-incarnating human ego, the true self in man, while the *Ravân* is the temporary lower self that shows itself as a different Personality in each birth according to Karmic causes.

A Few Parsee Festivals (Jashans) according to an Old Parsee Manuscript

BY

ERVAD MANEKJI RUSTOMJI UNVALA.

The Jashans or Festivals of the ancient Persians are described by several Mahomedan authors. In this paper I give an account of these Jashans as given in a manuscript in my possession, which itself is a copy of an old manuscript by Dastoor Rustam Gushtâsp Ardeshir in 1087 Yazdazardi. My manuscript gives the colophon of Dastoor Rustam Gushtâsp Ardeshir as follows (page 743) :—

نوشتم بدرودہ و شادہ و فرخہ و رامشن دین من دین بندہ دستور رستم گشتاسپ اردشیر بحسب الفرمودۂ دین دوست فراورن منشن اورمزدیار ابن کاہ زرین مکانی شہریار غریب سیاوخش شاد کام بجہت نثار دستور اویچرہیم فراورن منشن کانان سراینیدار اورمزد یشتار دستور مینوچہر ابن دستور رستم آذر برزین کر تا صد و پنجاہ سالان با فرزندان نراشو بہر نیک نامی بہر اشایہ ورزیداری وکار و کرفہ کار فرمایند و منچ کہ نوشتارہم اوا او کہ فرمود بہر اشایہ ورزیداری ہم بہرکنند چہ این کیتی و دیرشنی ہست و جد از نام نیک انیاچشچ بہر نمایند نوشتم اندر روز آشتاد فراخ دادار و ماہ آبان و سال بر ہزار و ہشتاد و ہفت یزدجرد شاہانشاہ شہر یاران بیزدان کام باد

My manuscript copy contains some fragments of the Khordeh Avesta (Kadimi), Nirangs, Setaish-e-Ahuramazda va Ameshaspendan, some Afringans, Kitâb-e-Dâdâr bin Dâdokht, Kitâb-e-Mino Khered, an account of some Jashans and other miscellaneous matters.

The account of the Jashans begins at page 621 and ends at page 643. The account is headed—

فصل در چگونکی پدید آوردن ماہہا و سالہای گیان و نہادن آینہا و توقیعات مشہورہ

i.e., how the Kyânian months and years came into existence with other important customs and events.

The subject begins with a description of the Peshdadian kings beginning with Kayumars and ending with Gushtâsp, giving certain important events of the reign of each of them. It says that Kayumars divided the year into twelve

months and originated our era. It says that Jamshed organized a Jashan (festival) and called it "Naorooz." Another Jashan called Jashan-e-Sadeh was celebrated every year on the day on which Zohak was killed by Feridun.

IN THE MATTER OF THE "NAOROOZ" OR THE NEW YEAR'S DAY.

Be it known that the fixing of the "Naorooz" or the New Year's day was for the following reason. When it was known that the sun completed two circuits or orbits (دور) the one being that by which the sun re-enters the first stage in the constellation Aries (اول دقیقهٔ حمل) after a period of three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter of civil days (and which occasion was styled the "Naorooz" or the New Year's day), and the other being that by which the sun after a period of one thousand four hundred and sixty-one years re-enters at the same time and on the same day the same stage in the constellation Aries from which it first started, Jamshed selected this day and named it "Naorooz" or the New Year's day and inaugurated a Jashan (festival) to be observed on that day every year. He ordered the priests to fix dates of the Jashans from the Naorooz Jashan, and names were assigned to each of the twelve months, each denoting a gift from the Almighty.

The following account describes why the months were so named :—

The first month is called "Farvardin," because this month is the beginning of the growth of plants and vegetables. In this month the sun enters the constellation called Hamal (*i.e.*, Aries.)

The second month is called "Ardibehesht," because the time of this month resembles *behesht*, *i.e.*, paradise. In this month the sun enters the constellation Sûr (*i.e.*, Taurus.)

The third month is called "Khordâd," because it provides people with abundance of *khoresh*, *i.e.*, food, such as fruit, wheat, barley, etc. In this month the sun enters the constellation Jûzâ (*i.e.*, Gemini).

The fourth month is called "Tir," because this month is the time for dividing wheat, barley and other things. It is also because the sun begins to come down from his extreme height like *tir*, *i.e.*, an arrow which when thrown on a dome begins to descend from its top. The sun enters the constellation Sartân (*i.e.*, Cancer). This month is the beginning of the season of summer.

The fifth month is "Mardâd," so named because all kinds of fruits become ripe in this month. This month is the middle of summer. The sun enters the constellation Asd (*i.e.*, Leo).

The sixth month is called "Shehrivar," because in this month the tithe or one-tenth of the agricultural produce was levied from the people by way of tribute to the kings. The sun in this month enters the constellation Sambuleh (*i.e.*, Virgo).

The seventh month is "Mehr," because people in this month show *mehr* or favour towards each other and partake together of corn and fruits, etc., bestowed upon them by Providence. The sun enters the constellation Mizân (*i.e.*, Libra). This month is the beginning of autumn.

The eighth month is call "Âbân," because it rains heavily in that month and is the time for sowing and agriculture. This month is the middle of autumn. The sun is in the constellation Akrab (*i.e.*, Scorpio).

The ninth month is called "Âdar," because in this month the weather becoming cold there is a necessity for *âtash*, *i.e.*, fire. The sun in this month enters the constellation Kûs (*i.e.*, Sagittarius).

The tenth month is called "Daê," because in the Pahlavi tongue *daê* means the estrangement of the soil from delightfulness and joy. This month is the beginning of winter. The sun in this month enters the constellation Jadi (*i.e.*, Capricornus).

The eleventh month is "Behman," and people have to keep themselves in their houses on account of extreme cold. The sun enters the constellation Dalv (*i.e.*, Aquarius).

The twelfth month is called "Asfandâr," because the word *asfand* in the Pahlavi tongue means *miveh*, *i.e.*, fruit, and in this month fruits and vegetables grow in abundance. The sun enters the constellation Hût (*i.e.*, Pisces).

In the matter of the New Year.

Be it known that the day "Farvardin" of the month Farvardin is the first "Naorooz" day of the Kyânians. This "Naorooz" was being celebrated from the time of Kaikhosru to that of Yazdgard Shehriar, who was the last of the Iranian kings. On this day the custom was for the High Priest to go before the king with a golden *jâm* or vase filled with wine and present a ring or a diram to the king.

While before the king the High Priest praised the king and showered benedictions on him to the effect that the king may be free and secure from calamities, protect the religion of the Kyânians, live a long and prosperous life, reign long with justice and wisdom, be victorious over his enemies, and that the Naorooz day might prove to him happy and auspicious. After these benedictions he presented the *jâm* of wine before the king saying, "Live long and drink this wine from the *jâm* of Jamshed." When he concluded, the king drank the wine. And the reason is that whoever directed his eyes on that thing (*i.e.*, the *jâm* of wine) in the beginning of the year had his whole year passed in happiness and plenty.

In the matter of the five Great Farvardegân Days.

The names of these five selected days are—(1) Ahunavad gâh, (2) Ushtwad gâh, (3) Safantamad gâh, (4) Vahukhshtra gâh, and (5) Vahishtush gâh. On these five days souls of the pious dead obtain information as to our world and come out of their homes. During these five days it is enjoined not to do any work or pursue any profession except reciting the Avesta, asking the Dastoors or Mobeds to recite Yasna in praise of Ahuramazda, reciting the Âfringân prayer for the souls of departed ancestors, paternal and maternal, giving food to the poor and the needy, so that all these may be the cause of reward and recompense (in the next world). And after all that, it is proper that one should go on a ceremonial visit to the "Dakhmas" or the Towers of Silence.

In the matter of the New Year's Day which is called "Naorooz-e-Âmeh" (*i.e.*, Naorooz of the Common People) or "Narooz-e-Kûchuk" (*i.e.*, the Small Naorooz).

Be it known that the day Ormazd following the five great Farvardegân days, *i.e.*, the first day of the first month Farvardin is the New Year's day. In the time of the Kyânians it was the custom that from that day till "Naorooz-e-Dûyûm," *i.e.*, second Naorooz, falling on the day Khordâd (of the same month) the indigent and the needy were provided with the necessaries of life, prisoners were set at liberty and the guilty pardoned. This time they used to pass in pleasure and enjoyment. They have a saying that whoever solemnized a Jashan on this New

Year's day passes the whole time till the next year's Naorooz in prosperity and happiness.

In the matter of the "Naorooz-e-Khâseh" (*i. e.*, Naorooz of the Nobility) or "Naorooz-e-Bûzurg" (*i. e.*, the Great Naorooz).

This Jashan (*i. e.*, festival) falls on the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin. It is said that God created the world on this day and ordered the planets, stars, the sun and the moon to move in their path, beginning their journey from the constellation Aries, and caused the heavens to revolve. On this day Kayûmars was born and everything useful to man was created. On this day, Jamshid, whom some of the Arabs call "Miv Shulkh," and others prophet Sûlemân, made his journey round the world, and when he had reached Azarbâijân he sat on a golden throne, put a crown studded with jewels on his head, and ordered the throne to be taken high up in the air in the western direction. When the sun made its appearance in the morning its rays fell on the throne and crown of Jamshid and a dazzling light was produced. When people saw this they were greatly delighted and intimated to each other that this was a day on which two suns had come out, one from the east and the other from the west, and they performed a great Jashan on that day. The king's original name was "Jam," but on account of that lustre they added the word "Shid" (*i. e.*, bright as the sun) and called him Jamshid. Again on the night of this day Kaikhosru was born and this day was also the day on which he ascended the throne. This was the day on which King Gushtâsp accepted the religion of the Prophet Zardusht. This is the reason why this day is called Naorooz-e-Malek (lit.) Naorooz of Kings, or Naorooz-e-Khâseh (lit.) Naorooz of the Nobility. Another tradition says that this Naorooz was first celebrated by King Jamshid, and after him it was a custom with the Kyânian kings that when a king came to the throne, he began counting the era from the day of his accession to the throne, and after him the king who succeeded discarded that era and began anew the era from his accession. This went on till the time of Yazdagard Shehriâr who, in the eleventh year of the Hijra, was defeated and slain by the Arabs, and the era begun by him from his accession began to be called after his name.

DESCRIPTION OF "ROQUH-E-KAZDOOM" (LIT. SCORPION PAPERS).

These Rôquh-e-Kazdoom were written on the day Asfandâr of the month Asfandâr between dawn and the appearance of the sun. Three such papers were written for each house for banishing scorpions and other noxious creatures and reptiles. These three papers were pasted up on three sides of the dwelling, leaving that in which was the doorway free for the egress of those noxious creatures. Some say this custom is not of the Parsis but is taken from the Arabs. This Rôquh-e-Kazdoom begins with the phrase "Ba nâm-e-Yazad ba nâm-e-niv-e-Aferidun" (lit. 'In the name of God and by the name of the strength of Feridun'). Some say that Feridun, who was known to the Arabs as Prophet Noah, performed talismans or miracles on that day. This Rôquh writing is a spell which dates from the time of Feridun. This day was the favourite time for "Mard-Giran" (lit. taking males) *i. e.*, marriage and courtship. On this day the ladies got all they wished from their husbands and maidens chose husbands for themselves.

IN THE MATTER OF THE ÂBÂN GÂH JASHAN.

This Jashan falls on the day Âbân of the month Farvardin, and this (Âbân) is the name of an angel who presides over waters. If it rains on that day it is called "Abângâh-e-Mardân" (lit. Abângâh festival for males), and the males go into water to bathe. If it does not rain it is called "Abângâh-e-Zanan (lit. Abângâh festival for females) and the females go into water, and this act is considered to be of good omen.

IN THE MATTER OF THE ÂB-E-RIZÂN JASHAN

This Jashan is called Naorooz-e-Tabri, and it falls on the day Tir of the month Tir. When for a period of seven years there fell no dew and there was great scarcity of rain, people on this day prayed to the Almighty, and simultaneously with their prayer it rained heavily, and this is the reason why people on this day used to sprinkle water over each other and make rejoicings when that festival day occurred. This is the custom in the cities of Arâk (Babylonia) and Pârs (Persia).

IN THE MATTER OF THE TIR OR TESHTER JASHAN.

This Jashan is called "Tirgân-e-Mehin," *i.e.*, the great Tirgân Jashan. This

Jashan falls on the day Tir of the month Tir. It was on this day that King Manucheher made peace with the Turânian King Afrâsiâb on condition that Afrâsiâb should give up to Manucheher so much of his dominions as would cover the distance of a fast flying arrow. Then ingenious persons made an arrow with great contrivance, and it was put into the bow by Âresh standing on a mountain near Tabristân and thrown in the direction of the rising sun, the heat of which carried the arrow to the boundary line of Takhârestân. In the words of a poet "Âresh is called Kamân Gir, *i. e.*, a reputed archer, on this account, that he threw an arrow from Âmel to Merv." They say that on this day (*i. e.* the Tirgân Jashan) the country covered by the flight of that arrow was given to Manucheher, and the day was passed in revelry and rejoicing.

In the matter of the Jashan called "Mehergân-e-Ameh," *i.e.* the Mehergân Jashan celebrated by Common People.

This Jashan is also called Naorooz-e-Meherjân and it falls on the day Meher of the month Meher. In the Persian language *Meher* means the sun. On that day the Kyânian kings observed feastings and revellings. This Jashan was held in great esteem and called Jashan-e-Shah Âferidun, *i. e.*, Jashan inaugurated by King Feridun, because on that day Feridun captured Beeverasp, otherwise called Zohâk by the Arabs, and sent him in chains to the Demâvand mountain. A Jashan was ordered on that occasion and people on that day used to engage themselves in prayer to the Almighty for their deliverance from the oppression of Zohâk, and every year on that day they muttered the "Zamzameh" (*i.e.*, silent prayers) and used to take their food and drink silently without uttering a word, and used to pass the whole day in giving thanks to the Almighty for his innumerable bounties.

In the matter of the "Mehergân-e-Khâseh" (*i.e.* Mehergân Jashan celebrated by the Nobility).

This Jashan follows the Mehergân-e-Âmeh and falls on the day Râm of the month Meher. This was the day of the accession of King Feridun. The Parsis used to hold that day in great reverence and esteem, and to pass it in feastings and revellings. Mobeds have said that whoever in the dawn or dusk of that day of Mehergân ate his bread and smelt the *mûrad* (an evergreen plant) became free from every calamity.

In the matter of the Khazân (lit. Autumn) Jashan.

This Jashan falls on the day Rashnê of the month Shehrivar. This Jashan is called Khazân-e-Nûkhûstin, *i.e.*, the first Khazân Jashan. The "Jashan-e-Khazân-e-digar," *i.e.*, the second autumn Jashan falls on the day Ormuzd, of the month Meher. This Jashan was solemnized because on that day the work of sowing seeds and cultivation was completed.

In the matter of the Burjab Vigân Jashan.

This Jashan falls on the day Saroosh of the month Daê. This is a time when vegetables are scarce.

In the matter of the Jashan called Rûkûb-ul-Kûsuj (lit. the procession of 'Kûsuj' or 'Kûseh,' meaning an old toothless beardless figure).

This Jashan falls on the first day of the month Âdar. In old times on this day it was customary among the Parsis for every king to take a silver deram from each shopkeeper in his dominions. This was collected in the following manner. An old toothless, beardless one-eyed man was mounted on an ass with a crow in one hand and a fan in the other. He was then driven with some of the king's retainers into the bazars, the Kûseh all the while fanning himself and collecting silver derams, one from each shopkeeper. In this manner he represented Winter in his departure. A moment's delay on the part of the shopkeepers, who took especial care to have their money ready, gave the Kûseh the right to seize all that was in their shops. Whatever was thus collected before the first prayers became the property of the king, and all the receipts after that time till the second prayers fell to the lot of the Kûseh and the other retainers following him. If this representative of winter was seen by the shopkeepers or by the public after the second prayers any person might beat him with impunity and no one would come to his rescue. This custom is to this day observed by the people of Bagdad and other Persian cities to announce that winter is departing.

In the matter of the Behemanjeh Jashan.

This Jashan is solemnized on the day Behman of the month Behman. Some

say that the Parsis on that day used to partake of vinegar mixed with *sapand* (*i.e.*, wild rue, of which and its seeds they prepare a fumigation against malignant eyes), while others say that they used to eat *sapand* mixed with fresh milk, so that Behman Amshasfand might sharpen the memory and perfect wisdom and intelligence. In some countries feasts are given mostly consisting of grains and pot-herbs.

In the matter of the Jashan-e-Shab-e-Sadeh.

This Jashan is solemnized on the day Abân of the month Behman. Various reasons are assigned for calling this Jashan Shab-e-Sadeh. The first reason seems to be that fifty nights and fifty days (in all making *sad*, *i.e.*, one hundred) remained for the arrival of the Naorooz festival. The second reason seems to be that from the beginning of the approach of cold to its disappearance, not counting the five great Farvardegân days, one hundred (*sad*) days have passed as the wintry season. The third reason seems to be that on this day the male and female children of Adam and Eve had multiplied a hundredfold (*sad adad*) and one of them was recognised as their head. The fourth reason is that on the night of this day Hooshang, the fourth grandson of Kayûmars, seeing a serpent on a mountain near Astekhr in the vicinity of Pârs picked up a stone intending to kill that serpent with it. The latter however escaped and concealed itself in dry leaves and twigs. When Hooshang threw that stone in the direction of that serpent, it came in contact with another stone, struck fire and set the herbage and the surrounding trees in a blaze and consumed the dragon in the flames. Hooshang exclaimed: "This fire is the Nûr-e-Khôdâ, *i.e.*, divine lustre and worthy of prayer, because it has been the cause of destruction to my enemy." He kindled a fire that night on the mountain and gave to that night (Shab) the name of Sadeh and ordered a Jashan to be held. A poet speaks to the same effect. "That night a Jashan was solemnized and wine was drunk and that auspicious night was named Sadeh." There is another tradition as to this Jashan. When Feridun obtained victory over Zohâk and captured him there was among the other captives Arbâyil, the Vazir of Zohâk. When the latter was ordered by Feridun to be put to death, he implored for mercy, saying "Fortunate king! know this and be enlightened, that in the time of Zohâk two persons were entrusted to me each day to be killed and their brains to be given to the

serpents of Zohâk. I used to spare the life of one of them. Pardon me for this goodness of mine because I am innocent." When Feridun heard these words he pardoned Arbâyil and treated him to a banquet that night, and by his order every person kindled large fires from the balcony of their houses and enjoyed that night merrily. A Jashan was also ordered and Arbâyil was installed as governor and head of that province. This is the reason why the night is called Sadeh. On this night people in every town in Khorâsân light a number of fires on the balconies of their houses according to the custom of the Kyânian kings and pass that time in rejoicings. [*Note.*— Perhaps in the latter instances Shab-e-Sadeh might be the corruption of Shab-e-Shadi, *i.e.*, the night of rejoicings.]

In the matter of the Jashan-e-Bâd Bareh.

This Jashan falls on the day Bâd (22nd day) of the month Behman. It is said that for a period of seven years there blew no wind in Persia and on this day a shepherd came before Kesrâ, *i.e.*, Nowshirwân the Just, and said: "Last night so much wind (*bâd*) blew that the hairs of the body of my sheep (*bareh*) began to move." They passed that day in feastings and rejoicings and this day was distinguished by the name of Bâd Bareh (*bâd*=wind, and *bareh*=lamb).

What is the first principle of things according to Zarathushtrian doctrine? Is it in conformity with intelligence and nature?

BY

NAIB DASTUR RUSTAMJI EDULJI SANJANA, B.A.

The most important of all questions in connection with Zarathushtrianism is: What is the first principle of things? It is the most important of all questions also in connection with our own existence. No question has given man so much interest as this one. The kings on the throne and the beggars in the street discuss it. It has been the theme of poets and priests, of sages and saints. To every man in his life-time come some happy moments when the struggles within him cease and the din and the turmoil of the world around him become silent and he asks: What is the first principle of things?

Various answers have been presented to us by various minds. Various theories have been proposed by philosophers and scientists, both ancient and modern, in answer to this question.

It is the greatest privilege of doctrine to solve "the great riddle of the universe," to show us the starting point of the world, to show us our own beginning. Doctrine must, therefore, answer our question, must make known to us the first principle of things. And therefore I ask it this question: What is the first principle of things?

Zarathushtrian doctrine answers us in these simple clear words:—

aṭ thwā mēnghī paurvīm mazdā yēzīm stōi manaṇhā
vaṇhēus patarēm manaṇhō hyaṭ thwā hēm chashmaini hēngrabem
haithīm ashahyā dāmīm aṇhēus ahurem shyaothnaēshū (Yasna, XXXI. 8).

Its translation:—

"When I caught sight of Thee in my eyes, I thought of Thee as the first, O Ahura-Mazda! as worthy to be ever worshipped with mind, as the real Father of good mind, as the Creator of truth, as the (perfect) Master of (all) actions of the world."

Now we come to the explanation of this answer.

Ahura-Mazda is the first or primordial being: by that alone that He is primordial or the first in order, He has no origin or beginning, that is to say, He is not dependent for his existence on any other thing than His own self, He is self-existant. Ahura-Mazda is eternal; for, if he exists and does not depend for his existence on any other thing than His own self, there is no reason why He should not be without end. Hence Ahura-Mazda is eternal or infinite in duration. He is also infinite in perfection; for, if anything were wanting to His perfection, He would not be total being, He would be limited in His existence, He would not exist of Himself, He would not be primordial. Ahura-Mazda is then a being eternal and perfect. But the state of perfection involves a personal state, that is to say, the state of a being who thinks, who wills, who acts, who is free and sovereign. Now Ahura-Mazda is represented in the text as the real Father of good mind or understanding and the Creator of truth and also the perfect Controller or Master of all actions in the world. Since He is such, it is impossible that He should not understand Himself, that he should not be an absolute sovereign. Most often is Ahura-Mazda addressed as: ahura mazda mainyō spenishta dātare gaēthanām astvaitinām ashāum = O Ahura-Mazda, most bountiful Spirit, Maker of all the material worlds, O Thou Holy One! Since personality is the characteristic of spirit, the primordial or the first Being Ahura-Mazda is an infinite spirit in a state of personality. He is a personal Creator. He is in the material worlds as the artist is in his work. He is in our mind as the sun is in our eyes. Beyond the universe or the material worlds and beyond our mind He subsists of Himself. He is a real or veritable, an infinite, an eternal, an absolute being, possessing consciousness and intelligence of Himself. Such is Zarathushtrian doctrine on the first principle of things — the doctrine contained in the Avestan texts we have given above.

We know that intelligence is the faculty of knowing. The function of the intelligence is to seek, to penetrate and possess truth; to live by truth and for truth. Truth is its beatitude and glory. As soon then as a doctrine is proposed to us, from whatever source it may come, we thirst to examine it, to scrutinize it in order to assure ourselves that it is a true doctrine. It behoves us, therefore, to see whether our Zarathushtrian doctrine on the principle of things is true, whether it is in harmony with intelligence and nature, which are the two fundamental instruments of verification.

True it is that nature speaks to the intelligence and the intelligence responds to nature. But it is the intelligence that sheds light on the obscurity of nature; it is the intelligence that discovers the connections, the causes and laws of phenomena; it is the intelligence that measures, analyses and defines them. And observe that it is the intelligence that carries in itself the certainty that the first principle of things exists, and that this first principle is either nature or some prime being beyond nature.

Now if we choose nature, as nature is wanting in personality, we must say that the first principle of things is an infinite force in a state of impersonality. If we reject nature, we must say like Zarathushtrian doctrine that the first principle of things is a supernatural being, the logical conception of which, as we have already seen, necessarily leads us to the conclusion that the first principle of things is an infinite spirit in a state of personality.

The ancient Iranian saint could not believe and accept any other doctrine on the first principle of things than that of a supernatural being, the doctrine which derives its strength both from reason and nature. He could not but acknowledge the existence of some sort of primordial being, in explanation of the universe, who with infinitely perfect power, wisdom and will created the universe and made men and with perfect beneficence protected and nourished them: "I invoke . . . . Ahura-Mazda, the Creator, the brilliant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful, the most firm, the most wise . . . . . who has made us, who has shaped us, nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful Spirit." (Yasna, I. 1.) In this place I cannot refrain myself from quoting a fine argument from Gutberlet's excellent book "Apology" which shows not only the absolute necessity for the existence of an infinite Being, but, at the same time, His attributes of liberty and personality. It is as follows:—

"If anything at all exists, an infinite Being must exist; for if only finite beings existed, it would always be possible to conceive a more perfect being than they or a less perfect one. For, above and below every finite degree of perfection there are innumerable other degrees and at each such degree there are again numberless possible individuals. Now, there is no reason, why only a few degrees of perfection should be actualised; on the contrary, all conceivable degrees should be actualised, with the same reason as those presupposed. Now, either this is the case, and then there

exists also the highest degree, the infinitely perfect Being ; or merely a few finite beings exist, and if this is the case, some free being must have chosen them in preference to all others. This brings us again, however, to a creative intellect which can reside in the infinite alone." These fine remarks of the scientist Gutberlet show that man's pure reason assures him naturally and invincibly of the reality of the infinite Being such as the Zarathushtrian idea of the first principle of things represents.

The mind of man has been able to explore the earth, the seas, the heavens, even the human body and the human mind itself. Observation reveals him facts, and facts lead him to causes, principles or laws and to form particular sciences and a more general science, which contains such abstract primary ideas as those of causality, extent, number and so forth. Observation which man makes by all possible natural means at his disposal, convinces him that in order that a being may exist, there must be a sufficient reason for its existence in the being itself or outside itself. If the cause or reason lies in the being itself, in its own essence and in consequence the being does not depend on anything else, we then have a being self-existent, a being existing by its intrinsic or essential necessity. We find approximate examples of such a being in the abstract truths of mathematics. For instance, it is of the essence of a plane triangle that the sum of its three angles is equal to two right angles. This is a truth, a being existing by its intrinsic or essential necessity and is consequently eternal. This truth exists from eternity. It will for ever exist and will for ever remain the same.

Now the primordial Being Ahura-Mazda is represented in our texts as the veritable Creator of truth. In the Hormazd Yasht Ahura-Mazda calls Himself Asha-vahishta = Perfect Truth. He is substantial and personal Truth, whose sight the Zarathushtrian saint eagerly seeks to behold and in whose gifts he rejoices, exults and is happy : "O Asha (Truth)! when shall I behold Thee . . . . O Ahura-Mazda! grant me those gifts of Asha by means of which the joy-creating glory may be obtained." (Yasna, XXVIII. 2 and 5.) Thus Ahura-Mazda being Truth, the real Creator of Truth, is self-existent, is existing by an intrinsic or essential necessity and is eternal, is immutable, always the same. (nūremchīt ahurā hāmō. Yasna, XXXI. 7.)

I said that the cause of a being may either lie in the being itself or outside it. If the cause lies outside it, we have then a being or thing dependent for its existence on another. Now each being dependent on another presupposes such other and finally presupposes one which does not depend in its own turn on another, and thus we are forced by the principle of causality to come to an independent or a self-existent being like Ahura-Mazda.

We arrive at the same conclusion even if we were to suppose that there exists an infinite series of dependent beings. Each being dependent on another presupposes such other and so on up to infinity. Since each being dependent on another implies a being on which it depends, the number of the dependent beings must be equal to the number of beings on which they depend. And as the number of the former is infinite, the number of the latter must be also the same, that is, infinite. The first being and the last of the whole series both cannot be dependent or independent. The one must be dependent and the other independent ; otherwise the two numbers would be unequal. Besides it would be absurd to suppose the first being to be dependent and the last independent. Therefore the first being of the series must be independent. Thus our reason, as well as our doctrine, admits of the existence of a primordial, an independent or a self-existent being.

How is this opposed by scepticism. There is the rationalist camp of sceptics who deny the reality of the infinite Being. They argue that man sees in his mind drimary and secondary ideas. The former constitute the foundation of his reason and all the ulterior conclusions of the understanding flow from them. But because the mind possesses such primary ideas as those of causality, being, unity, infinity, eternity, proer, truth, justice, does it follow that outside the mind there exist realities which correspond to these ideas ? The word idea itself signifies only an image. So how is it possible for us to be sure that the image is produced exactly by a real object ? The mind of man is created, and hence is limited, is not infinite, how can then a finite mind conceive an idea of the infinite ? Such are the arguments of the sceptic against our belief in the real existence of the Being, Ahura-Mazda. He wants us to prove the reality of the Being but to prove it without the primary ideas, that is to say, without the principles upon which every demonstration or proof should be based.

It is very necessary to observe that even natural science, the science which occupies itself with the visible things in nature, would be unable to subsist without

employing such notions as are drawn from the invisible order. Take from man's mind the primary ideas of being, unity, extent, relation, and what would the universe be for him. It would be for him precisely what it would be for an animal—a spectacle. Man would look at it just like an animal that does not think about anything but beholding it.

Every science has for its foundation the principle of causality. All its facts rest mainly on this principle. The geologist studies and examines the various strata of the earth and concludes by means of the principle of causality that that stratum is older which is under the others. Leverrier, the astronomer, observed the deviation of several planets from their usual path. By the principle of causality he concluded that their deviations must be due to another planet of a certain magnitude. He was correct in his conclusion and discovered Neptune. Columbus concluded from observing the debris brought to the shores of Europe by the waters of the Atlantic that there must be a country in the west and he thus discovered America. In every day life we conclude by reasoning that a person must have fever when his pulse beats 100 to the minute. In attaining every kind of knowledge the trustworthiness and usefulness of the principle of causality is admitted. No reasonable person can therefore doubt its trustworthiness and usefulness when it is employed in the science of theology.

The sceptic refuses to admit of the reality of the Supreme Being on purely subjective evidence, on the evidence of what is called "pure reason." But may we ask: What substantial means has he to doubt the reality? If it is impossible for him for want of means to prove the reality, not less impossible should it be for him for the same reason to doubt it. Whatever be the evidence, whether subjective or objective, whether given by "pure reason" or "practical reason," the main thing to be cared for is that the evidence assures him of the reality of the Being. The great rationalist Kant, although he rejected the principle of causality as untrustworthy, was forced to acknowledge the reality of the Supreme Being, the Highest Good, by the incontrovertible fact that "as man, the actual rational being in the universe, is not at the same time the cause of nature and of the universe; there is not the slightest reason to expect, in regard to the moral law, a constant ratio between his morality and his happiness; seeing that he is dependent on a universe which cannot bring the happiness it offers into accord with his practical moral

principles. Nevertheless pure, practical reason, which decides our will by a law of its own promulgation, ... postulates such a connection when it commands us to promote the highest good. Thus is also postulated the existence, distinct from nature, of a cause of all nature which shall contain the reason of the correspondence between happiness and morality, that is, the existence of God. What pure theoretical reason was powerless to demonstrate, is proved by practical reason through moral consciousness in the form of a morally inevitable conviction that God is." (Dr. A. Vogel, "Problems of Life and Enigmas of the Universe in the Light of Modern Science.") Thus then we have seen by the light of what is called "pure reason" as well as "practical reason" the truth of the Zarathushtrian doctrine which declares that the first principle of things is the Supernatural Being who is an infinite spirit in a state of personality.

Now we will proceed to see that our doctrine finds its verification also in nature, in the life of the universe, in our own life. Our doctrine says that the first principle of things is Ahura-Mazda and Ahura-Mazda is an infinite spirit, an eternal absolute unity. Do we find in the heavens, the earth, the seas, or even in mankind, anything of the grandeur contained in this powerful word—Ahura-Mazda? Does the sky, the earth, the ocean or man, bear the stamp of a being without origin or beginning? Can nature or anything it contains say like Ahura-Mazda: "My name is Avatanuyō = Incorporeal"? (Geldner's edition, Yasht, I. 7.) Of course not. Because all nature is corporeal. Everything in it has its measured form or body.

Can nature or anything in nature say like Ahura-Mazda: "ahmi yat ahmi mazdāo nāma = I am that I am, Mazda by name, that is to say, I am the Self-existent Omniscient Being"? (Geldner, Yasht, I. 8.) Everything in nature is in movement; because every being in it is in action. And every being therein is in action; because every being from the atom to the planet, from the dust to the human mind, is in activity. Everything, even the most inert, is active; it condenses, resists, attracts, and unites with itself the elements that yield to it. In short, activity or movement is the permanent common characteristic of everything that exists in the universe. But movement supposes "a first motor." There must be therefore a mover beyond the universe which is in motion. The philosophic mind of the ancient Iranian saint seems to have observed and

analysed this phenomenon of universal motion and to have seen the necessity of the existence of a prime mover and constrained to exclaim, "Who prescribed to the sun and stars their fixed course? Who makes the moon increase and diminish in sizee xcept Thyself (O Ahura)? Who produced affection (moved the heart) in the father for his son." (Yasna, XLIV. 3 and 7.)

It is said of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle that he, after having admitted the eternity of matter, could no longer mount to a supreme cause save by discovering something in nature whose presence could not be explained without a higher principle. Such to him was the movement of bodies, and he wrote this proposition, . . . "There is something immovable which is the principle of movement."

So the universe is not infinite and independent. In fact, it is, so to say, a serf who is bound to implicitly obey and dutifully serve his master. It revolves in a fixed circle. Nothing in it possesses the character of liberty or sovereignty. Everything occurs according to certain laws. The stone remains where it is placed; the planet describes an orbit prescribed for it. All those orbs, so prodigious in size and motion show to the observer their helpless powerlessness to deviate from their law. And man himself in whom alone we find the traces of liberty which is entirely wanting in all the rest of the inhabitants of our world, is he absolutely free or sovereign? Can he take birth at his own will? Can he live as long as he wishes? Is he not dependent for his maintenance and comfort on any other thing than his own self? Like nature, of which he forms a part, he is dependent for his existence, for his sustenance, for his happiness, for his death on the will of some one above himself. In fine, the spectacle of the universe awakens two sentiments, namely, powerlessness and pity. And these sentiments seem to have inspired the Zarathushtrian psalmist with the following verses:

"Unto you (O Ahura!) the soul (or the essence) of the world cried out: "What have you made me for? Who made me? On me (come) anger, robbery, cruelty, desolation, violence and oppression. No other saviour have I than you; therefore teach us a good occupation (for our well-being)." (Yasna, XXIX. 1.)

"When shall Truth, Good Mind, Sovereign Power, come to me? O Ahura-Mazda! now grant us your abundant help. Of the bountiful gifts of the One like you (we are in urgent need)." (Yasna, XXIX. 11.)

"Who is the sustainer of our earth and the heavens? Who gave swiftness to the winds and the clouds? Who is the Creator of the good mind within us? Who is the skilful maker of light and darkness? Who is the great artisan of sleep and wakefulness? O Ahura! tell me rightly, who in creation was the first author of the Holy Order (in the universe)? Who prescribed to the sun and stars their fixed course? Who makes the moon increase and diminish in size except Thyself?" (Yasna, XLIV. 3-5.)

In this last quotation we clearly see that the holy poet of primitive Iran finds in the various phenomena of the universe the character of a studied work and admits of the existence of the great Architect of the work. Just as the various materials and component parts of a work of art cannot arrange themselves by virtue of their own inherent power, so the various and innumerable parts which form the universe could not have arranged themselves "in accordance with the highly complex order of the cosmos"; for maintaining this complex and at the same time orderly arrangement there must be one supreme intelligent being who holds in his powerful hand the reins of all nature.

No doubt, the universe is not Ahura-Mazda Himself. And yet the universe, all limited as it is, all silent as it stands before our mind, contains at least a lineament of Him. All nature is a reflection of His exquisite design, arrangement, order, beauty and goodness. "Numerous and good," says the author of the Jamyād Yasht, "numerous and beautiful, numerous and flourishing, numerous and splendid, are the works that Ahura-Mazda has made through His glory."

Look out upon the world and inquire what origin stands impressed on it: Is it chance or is it a uniform design? Is it by chance that the inhabitants of the earth are provided with exactly the temperature most conducive to their particular organism? Is it by chance that that remarkable circulation of water occurs and nourishes the vegetable and animal world as rain-water? Is it by chance that the most continuous rain-water is powerless to deprive the soil of even the minutest particles of the substances necessary for the nutrition of plants? Is it by chance that all the creeping, swimming, flying beings, all beasts and cattle are provided with their corresponding nourishment, with means of convenience, protection and defence? Is it by chance that the cow is provided with the sweet grass; its young one, with the sweet milk; the bee, with the honey-flower; the bird, with seeds; the fish, with the

scale; the reptile, with its tooth; the reindeer, with its antlers; the roe, with its fleet foot; the elephant, with its tusk ? Is it by chance that man has his body so elaborate, so delicate, so exquisite, so beautiful, so wonderful and so mysterious in its structure and its working ? Is it by chance that there is the most beautiful symmetry between the right and the left side of the human body ? Is it by chance that all the required conditions are complied with in the human eye that it can see things? In a word, is all the wonderful adaptation of the world to the comfort and advantage of man and to the convenience and comfort of the lower animals due to chance? If we say that all this is the work of chance, we can say with greater right that Shakespeare's beautiful play called "Hamlet" is the result of chance; that Shakespeare never conceived its plan; that accidentally he had several sheets of white papers on his table and in his absence a number of flies by a happy chance sat and left the marks of their presence in regular order so as to produce the letters, verses and scenes of the beautiful play "Hamlet." Is this a scientific explanation of the existence of that masterpiece of Shakespeare ? The explanation is as absurd as the chance theory about the existence of the adaptation of the world. Therefore to conclude from the existence of the wonderful adaptation and harmony visible in the universe the real existence of an infinitely bountiful creative spirit would be as reasonable as to conclude from the existence of the beautiful and well arranged play that a poet lived who planned "Hamlet."

If therefore we ask and inquire whence pleasant things for our palate, music for our ear, beauty for our eye, fragrance for our nostril, the sun to shine upon us, waters to refresh us, food to feed us, plants to cure us, the forest to build our houses, the hills to lay their foundation ? Whence the beautifully designed colours on the wings of the butterfly ? Whence the landscape, the rainbow, the Aurora and the starry heavens ? Only solution, only explanation, only answer is —"O Spirit Mazda ! (Thy) own self (is) bountiful through the Holy Order, Remover of evil from all, Friend of both the worlds (corporeal and incorporeal)." (Yasna, XLIV. 2.)

"What help my soul should seek and how should it seek ? Who is known to save my cattle and myself except Thy Holy Order and Thyself and Thy Best Mind, O Ahura-Mazda, O Thou invoked One ! tell (me)." (Yasna, L. 1.)

"O Ahura-Mazda ! the stars and the sun and the Aurora . . . . all regularly pursue (their path) through Thy Holy Order for Thy Glory." (Yasna, L. 10.)

Zarathushtrian doctrine is therefore in the right, as it admits of a righteous order or design in the universe and of the reality of its Designer and Creator Ahura-Mazda. According to it, Ahura-Mazda and Ahura-Mazda alone is the Creator of all order, intellectual, moral, religious and physical :

" O Ahura-Mazda ! when Thou first didst create the worlds or the universe through Thy own mind and created its laws, Thou didst give us understanding and corporeal life and with them religious laws in order that the wisher may fix his choice." (Yasna, XXXI. 11.)

According to this, man is a complex being. By his thought he belongs to the intellectual order; by his will, to the moral order; by his entire soul, to the religious order ; by his bodily life, to the physical order. And the Creator of all these relations, of all these means of attaining his end, is Ahura-Mazda.

It is evident from this passage that our doctrine denies not the reality of spirit nor of matter. It recognises the existence of palpable visible matter, which is susceptible of form and movement, and it also acknowledges the phenomena of thought and will and ascribes them both to Ahura-Mazda.

Our senses and reason reveal to us no other materials than these two presented by our doctrine. Matter is the object that falls under the investigation of our senses. Our senses can see, handle and feel it. They can make use of it according to the laws discovered by science. Spirit is not less evident than matter. Because our spiritual being is our own self. We feel the truth of it. We feel the distinction between our soul and body with such force that each moment brings to us a conviction of their duality as strong as the certainty of their union.

Do we here also find opposition ? Yes, we do. Materialism denies the reality of spirit. It denies the existence of spiritual beings. It aspires to convince us that there is nothing in the world but palpable.divisible matter. It ascribes all the phenomena of thought and will to the eternally progressive matter. It declares that matter is eternal. It was at first in motion or in a state of repose. It gradually assumed a more perfect motion. It continued to do so until it reached the evolution of protoplasm, which proceeded further and further, through the various species of plants and animals, to an ape, and from an ape to a negro and from a negro, to the present man.

It can be said with justice that materialism is a theory that tends to the abasement of man, to his degradation, to the destruction of his dignity and greatness.

It is a theory by which the vicious mind seeks to divest itself of the ideas of truth, justice and responsibility, and in this manner to stifle its remorse and attain peace which is ever far beyond its reach. It is an abject theory which has been proved against nature, against reason and experience.

The materialist considers that earth, having reached a certain stage of evolution and perfection, becomes capable of producing ideas, judgments and desires just as it produces plants, flowers and fruits. Our common sense and experience too strongly reject such folly. Take anything animate or inanimate, organic or inorganic, and elevate or raise it to the highest possible stage or degree of development and you will never find anything but the primitive element contained in it. Cultivate an apple tree with all possible means and you may wait for ever for it to give you anything but apples. Plant a stone in the earth and you may wait for ever for it to grow into a fruit tree.

The scientist has tried the effect of carbonic acid, ultra-violet rays, high temperature and other things. In spite of all his efforts and resources and knowledge, he has not succeeded in producing even one living cell. Is it possible, then, to attribute to inanimate matter without understanding and assistance the production of the different species of the animal world? It is utterly impossible to conceive that molecules of inorganic matter may fall into so happy a combination that an animate being might result therefrom.

Man has been making observations for thousands of years to prove that spontaneous generation takes place in nature but has failed. On the contrary, he has been able to prove that the theory of evolution or spontaneous generation is false. He has determined that worms do no take birth from corrupting bodies as was formerly supposed; that mice was not produced by soiled linen; that scorpions did not spring from an herb. He has determined that by artificial breeding it is impossible to produce a vulture from a pigeon or a cat from a dog. Not one single example of the production of one species of beings from another has been yet found.

Man's reason and free will and even his bodily structure are so absolutely unlike, and so far above the bodily structure and the vital principle of the ape, that the evolution of man from the ape without the intervention of a higher power or principle is as inconceivable as that a pebble should produce flowers or fruits. Notwithstanding the vast progress made in paleontology, anthropology and ethnology,

those links which should connect man directly with the ape have never yet been discovered. Virchow, who is considered as a great authority on the subject, says:

"If we study the fossil of Quaternary man, who must certainly have been nearer our ancestors in the order of descent or rather of ascent, we always find man like ourselves. . . . . On the whole, we are forced to acknowledge that the fossil type of lower human development has yet to be found. In fact, if we take all the human fossils known and parallel them with the human race of the present day, we can positively assert that there is a much greater number of individuals of a relatively lower order of development in the latter than in the former. Whether the greatest geniuses of the Quaternary time have had the good fortune to transmit their bones to posterity, I do not venture to decide. But, as a rule, we conclude from the constitution of an individual fossil, the character of the majority not found. I will not do this. I will not assert that the few skulls found were typical of the whole race. However, I must say that the fossil of an ape's skull or that of an ape man, which could really have belonged to a human being, has not yet been found. Each new human fossil discovered has led us further and further from the problem . . . . We cannot claim as an acquisition of science that man has descended from the ape or any other animal." (Virchow, "Freedom of Science.")

John Ranke, one of the most distinguished of modern anthropologists, sums up the results of his observations thus: "There exists at present in all known humanity no race, people, tribe, family or individual, which could be zoologically characterised as the link between man and the ape."

"Thus the observation of past and present reveals no half-way between man and the ape. Nor have the efforts made to produce this intermediate phase artificially ever been successful. And yet, if the ape had of himself developed into man, human instruction in language, literature, etc., ought to promote him to man's estate with incomparably greater facility at the present day. But try to make an ape talk reasonably. In ten, in a hundred generations, he will scarcely manage to achieve automatic gabble of the parrot, while the most degraded Australian aboriginal has his own language, and can be raised to a moderate degree of education even in the first generation, as the mission reports show."

Can the ape say like man 'I'? Can it ponder like him of its own self? Has it got consciousness of its own self? No sane man would answer except in the

negative. While speaking of consciousness it will not be out of place to quote here what the distinguished naturalist Du Bois-Reymond, though belonging to the atheistic party, declares in his lecture on "The Limits of Natural Science": "The intellectual processes which go on in the brain beside the material are to our understanding inexplicable. They are in any case beyond our understanding.

"What connection can be conceived to exist between definite motions of definite atoms in my brain, on the one hand, and, on the other, the facts which take their origin from me alone, which cannot be defined or denied — 'I feel pain, I feel pleasure, I taste something sweet, I smell the perfume of roses, hear the tones of an organ, see something red'? And how account for the equal and immediate certainty resulting therefrom — 'Therefore I am'? It is absolutely and eternally inconceivable that to a number of atoms of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, etc., it should not be indifferent how they lie and move, how they lay and moved, how they shall lie and move. It is impossible to see how consciousness can result from their co-operation. If their position and manner of movement were not indifferent to them, one would have to imagine them as monads, each separately endowed with consciousness. Consciousness would not be explained by this . . . . . It is wholly impossible and will ever remain so, to understand the higher intellectual processes from the mechanics of the cerebral atoms. . . . . I will now demonstrate, as I think convincingly, that not only at the present stage of our knowledge is consciousness not to be explained by its material conditions but that in the nature of things it will never be explicable . . . . There appears, then, in the evolution of life upon the earth something new, and until then unheard of, something which, like the essence of matter and force and like the beginning of motion is incomprehensible . . . . ." Thus the atheist professor of natural science declares before a very influential and intelligent meeting of naturalists at Leipzig that materialism, as well as the ape or monkey theory which it preaches, is groundless and unnatural. He seems to indirectly declare that there is a higher principle that has been the basis of all that we have as yet seen and known.

The most frequently occurring epithet "Mazda-dhāta," Mazda-made, used throughout our sacred volume in connection with the earth, wind, water, plant, animal, innate and acquired wisdom of man and other material and immaterial objects, gives us the fact that one species of beings did not issue or evolve from another

without the intervention of a higher power; that the distinguishing attribute or element, or the peculiar character with which each species is stamped, comes from Ahura-Mazda. In the beginning of the Fravardin Yasht Ahura-Mazda says:

"Through the brightness and glory of the fravashis I maintain the sky . . . . . encompassing the earth. . . . .

". . . . I maintain the waters, Ardvi Sūr Anāhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving that . . . . obeys the Law of Ahura. . . . .

". . . . I maintain the wide earth made by Ahura. . . . .

". . . . I maintain in the womb (of the mother) the child . . . . . so that it does not die from the assaults . . . . and I develop in it the bones, the hair, the entrails, the feet. . . .

"Mazda invoked their help when he maintained the sky and the waters, and the earth and the plants" . . . . (Yasht, XIII. 1-11 and 28.)

In Yasna XIX. Ahura-Mazda says: "O Spitama Zarathushtra! this Ahuna-vairya I declared for thee before the sky, before the waters, before the land, before the cattle, before the plants, before the fire, ... before the holy man, ... before the entire corporeal world, even before all the Mazda-made good beings, before the beings of good origin." (Yasna, XIX. 3.)

By this we are led to understand that there was no sudden dropping of one species of beings after another by Ahura-Mazda from the sky, but that the world was created in a progressive order, distributed in several epochs. Besides, we are told by the passages in the Farvardin Yasht that not only did Ahura-Mazda create the different species of beings in the universe in a progressive order, but also maintained them and still maintains them in that order, keeps them all in their proper condition.

Zarathushtrian doctrine places every species of beings in its true position. It shows everything in its true light. Like pantheism it does not confound all beings in a divine chaos. It neither humanises nor materializes God. It tells us that the world is not an emanation of the divine substance; that star, tree, horse, lion, tiger, and even man or man's soul are not parts of the Supreme Being, Ahura-Mazda. Struck by the poverty of the world as well as everything it contains, it comprehended that the principle of being and life was not in the world but beyond it, beyond all those orbs shining above and seen afar round about our own globe, beyond all the stars: "We worship here Ahura-Mazda who made the world, and the Righteous

Order, and the waters, and good plants, and the earth, and the stars, and all good things." (XXXVII. 1.) "O Ahura-Mazda, most bountiful Spirit, Maker of the material worlds, Thou Holy One!" (Yasht I. etc.) "O Mazda, bountiful Spirit, Maker of all!" (Yasna, XLIV. 7.)

So every being except Ahura-Mazda was made in the full sense of the word, made under the hand of the Most High, by the Most Bountiful Spirit, Ahura-Mazda, through His act of goodness (*spenta*), the attribute which in Him concentrates all other attributes of His moral perfection. In fact, we find not a trace in the Avesta of pantheism which preaches that the substance of the Divine Absolute Being is in entirety in the universe and is indivisible; that all the various objects which form parts of the universe are the various aspects of the divine substance.

The passages we have quoted, entirely excludes this theory. They also exclude semi-pantheism or the emanation theory, which teaches that the divine substance is only in part in the universe and that the part is again subdivided into smaller particles each of which goes to form the soul or essence of each individual being in the world or, as some imagine, of each individual rational being, man. According to both these theories the substance of God forms the soul or essence of every being in the world, but it then loses its absolute character without which it is impossible for the mind to conceive of the substance of the Divine Absolute Being.

On the other hand, the teaching of Zarathushtrian doctrine is that the substance of Ahura-Mazda is indivisible and His character, which is perfection, is inseparable from His substance. As man acts in the totality of his being, acts with body and soul not as being two but as one only, as one single personal being, so does Ahura-Mazda act in the indivisible totality of His being or essence, He acts with His power, His wisdom and His goodness or bountifulness: "O Ahura-Mazda! at the final changing of the world Thou shalt come with Thy bountiful spirit, with Thy sovereign power and good mind, by whose deeds or acts the worlds increase or prosper . . . . . (Yasna, XLIII. 6.)

Thus Ahura-Mazda is said to act as one personal being, with all the inalienable totality of His perfection. As man is whole and is ever present to nature, to his intelligence, to his conscience and to society, so Ahura-Mazda is whole and ever present to every being in the universe. Our very first quotation says that Ahura-

Mazda is the Creator of good mind and truth and the Lord of actions in the world. He is always present to every part and particle of the world through His complete control or mastery over all actions or all activities, mental, moral, physical or social.

We have therefore sufficient evidence in the extant Avesta to believe that Zarathushtrian doctrine rejects pantheism as well as semi-pantheism, the theory of evolution as well as the theory of emanation. Even Schopenhaur, the well-known German philosopher, declares pantheism as absurd and unbelievable. He says as follows:

"In this system morality must needs succumb. Spinoza endeavours at times to save it by sophisms, but, on the whole, he gives up the attempt. All pantheism must go to pieces on the application of this test, and that of the evil and suffering in the world. If the universe is a theophany, all that man, nay, all that the animal does, is at once divine and excellent; there can be nothing to blame and nothing to praise: thus there can be no ethics. Hence in consequence of the revival in our day of the pantheism taught by Spinoza, morality has sunk so low . . . that it is reduced to a mere introduction to a decent civic and domestic life . . . . ."

Can you then suppose that man is but a god enslaved to a sensible organisation? There are some sages who make man believe that he is a part of God. He is a part of the cosmic mind or intelligence that is God. They represent his soul as if it is beyond all causation, as if there is none above to act upon it, none around to limit it, as if through its control the sun shines, the sky expands, the air breathes, and all things in the world are. In short, they invest him with absolute existence, absolute sovereignty and absolute bliss.

Observation tells us that man is dependent on something above and something below himself. In numberless ways he is dependent upon things much inferior to himself. Brute matter resists him passively. He is neither capable of destroying nor of creating a particle of dust. An atom is sufficient to arrest his powers. How much more the universe? Fire and water are both his masters. His prosperity is at the mercy of the weather. Likewise he is dependent upon the inferior animals. Some give him their flesh to eat and their milk to drink, some warm materials to clothe with and some their strength to work with.

Man's knowledge is extremely limited. He has not acquired complete control over all diseases. He is comparatively ignorant of his thinking principle, of the

various processes of his immortal soul, of the laws of its various faculties and of the combination of his mind and matter. Whatever mental power he may possess, whatever greatness of character or genius he may have, still he can never be independent. He needs to be instructed by a mind superior to his own ; he needs to be guided by a higher principle. It is a part of his destiny to hear, to receive and to obey.

"What are Thy ordinances? Speak Thou, O Mazda ! that we may hear . . . " "Teach Thou, O Ahura-Mazda ! by Thy own mouth that I may declare it." "Has my soul ever sought assistance from any one else except Thyself, O Ahura !" "Thee, O Lord ! do I choose as my sole teacher and exhorter." "Come Thou to my help, bestow upon us abundance of spiritual strength so that our enemy be smitten." "Let this or that be done to us according to the will of Ahura-Mazda."

We find in these lines that Zarathushtrian doctrine asks us to define ourselves not as gods, but as creatures who must live in the modesty of obedience to Him who is above us. It does not take our sublime spiritual part and persuade us to believe that there is none above us. Nor does it place before us a low and dishonoured image of ourselves. It sees our greatness and thus reveals it: ". . . . Thou art bountiful with this, O Mazda ! (the possessor) of the spirit that has made for us the world full of joy . . . O Ahura-Mazda ! Thou hast given unto Frashaostra the most delightful leadership of the Holy Order. That leadership I implore from Thee for myself which is within Thy good kingdom ; most beloved and foremost may we be within it."

However, as we said, Zarathushtrian doctrine does not divinise man. It does not maintain like idealism that all in nature is immaterial. It does not divide man by making him either a simple intelligence or only a body. For, man in all his acts is neither a spirit nor a body ; he is made up of two substances intimately interwoven with each other, the immaterial substance and the material substance. Every thing that separates these two destroys man.

So all the facts we have related and all the Avestan passages we have quoted, prove that the idea about the first principle of things that comes out of the Avesta, chiefly out of the Gâthâs, stands on scientific basis, stands in conformity with modern thought. It is the idea that first flashed into the brain of Zarathushtra the Prophet, through the grace of Ahura-Mazda. It is the idea that has ruled the world since

then. The ancient Hebrew and Greek sages acknowledged its truth and accepted it. Christianity and Mohammadanism have this idea for their foundation. Many of the advanced intellects, many of the best thinkers of modern times like Descartes, Lock, Leibnitz, Kepler, Newton, Kant and others have endorsed it. The educated classes of almost all races of the world believe in it. It is indeed the highest, the holiest, the most efficient and the most popular of all the ideas which man has conceived and has uttered. Let us, therefore, teach all men, women and children the Zarathushtrian doctrine about the first principle of things and make them believers in the Almighty God, Ahura-Mazda, and thus fulfil the earnest desire of the holy psalmist who prayed: ". . . . O Mazda! do Thou declare it so that we may know. Do Thou speak it with the tongue of Thy mouth that we may make all the living believers." (Yasna, XXXI. 3.)

The Zoroastrian Calendar

BY

MR. KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA.

The ancients counted time by the phases of the moon.

Hence the word for months, in all Arian languages, is derived from the word for moon; from Mâoñh, moon, to Mâoñha, month, from moon to month.

The Iranians had likely four quarters, each of seven days, of a lunar month of 28 days. The period of human gestation was of ten months, of 280 days.

Latterly the month has been conceived as synodic of 29½ days, but for convenience sake is reckoned instead of 29½ days, of 30 days, 15 days of increase, from conjunction, Antare-Mâoñha, and of 15 days, opposition, full moon, Pereno-Mâoñha. *Pancha dasa ukhshyeiti, pancha dasa nerefsyeṭi* being first mentioned, it may be that the Iranian lunar months commenced with new moon. On the other hand, Antare-Mâoñha is first, leading to the further presumption that the Iranian lunar month certainly commenced with the new moon.

When this mode of counting time by the moon was in use the ceremonies relating to ablutions, or cleansing defiled bodies, must presumably have been instituted. For the change of day is reckoned commencing by the close of the day, by the beginning of night—Khshapara—just as the Mahommedans do. The Barshnum ceremonies must therefore have been very old, because the days in that ceremony are named after the night, Khshapara.

With the lunar months, the years must have been lunar also; but not without intercalations being used to bring up lunar time close to the solar, just as the Hindus, the Jews, etc., having the lunar calendar, do at present intercalate in their lunar years to bring them up to the length of the solar years.

The solar years were tropical, as their very names—Zima, Aiwi-gâma, Saredha, Zaremaya—signify. Zima is winter, Aiwi-gâma is the superior, later, top season of the two, in contrast to Hama, the summer. Saredha is the cold season. All these years commenced most naturally with the solstice of Capricon, when the sun

commenced to revive and to grow for its march from the southern hemisphere, over the equator, towards the northern hemisphere, where Iran lay.

Mithra, dawn, precedes Hvare-khsaeta, the sun, in the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis. So Mithra, the dawn of the year, at the solstice of Capricon, precedes for three months, the welcome blaze of the sun at the vernal equinox in the northern, Iranian, hemisphere. Hence the month Mithra, in the Zoroastrian calendar, must have been and was the ninth of the year.

The year Zaremaya, the spring time, commenced at the vernal equinox, so the last calendar, which is still extant, had spring as the beginning of the year. The current Persian word *sâl*, however, is derived from Saredha, the year commencing with winter.

In the present day in Persia the *sâl*, derived from Saredha, has only survived out of the three variously called winter names of the year.

How were the short lunar years brought up to the length of the solar in the days when the month was sidereal of 27 or 28 days is not known. When the synodic lunar month came to be accepted of 30 days and the year was of 12 months of 30 days each, in all 360 days, lunar years had $5\frac{1}{4}$ days added.

It was discovered that the solar year was of 365 days, 6 hours. The Gregorian calendar of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 46 seconds seems not to have been anticipated.

Now, to bring up the lunar year of 360 days to conform to the solar year of 365 days, 6 hours, in the first instance, 5 full days were added at the end of every year. As these 5 days were the accumulations of particular excesses of time in the twelve months over 30 days, minus subtraction of time in other months, they were added in the year after all the 12 months had expired at the end of the 12th month. Hence, these days were called Andar-gâhân, the time between the passing and the forthcoming year. They were also called Mushtereke, or stolen, as they were the accumulations of the excess of time in different months over 30 days. They were also called Behetarak or Behrak, perhaps from the Pehelvi Vahijak, in which the first part is *veh*, meaning good, which in Persian becomes *beh*, meaning better, meaning, reformation, intercalation.

There are others who regard these 5 days as inclusive in the 12th month, which month is reckoned by them to be of 35 days. They have the authority of the

Afrin Ghahambar, in which the last *ghahambar*, the Hamaspthmedhya ghahambar is placed on the Gâthâ day Vahistoiste in the month of Aspendad.

These days were thus intercalated every year at its end and that system was called Yum-vahijâkik Daen-shant, that is the system appertaining to the days intercalation in every year.

This is also called Hushmurtik or calendar year consisting of 365 days only. In the Avesta whilst the intercalated years are called as above, the Hushmurtik are called Yâre. The half, the one and the two years are called Yâre and not Saredha. We have no record of three, four, five, six years, but the seventh occurs and is called Saredha, which leads to the presumption that at least by the seventh year intercalation had already taken place. The Ghambars are called Yâirya in Avesta, meaning divisions of the Yâre of 365 days, not of the Saredha, *sâl* of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. The Yâre of 365 days is divided into 6 portions called, as above, Yâirya, the 6 ghahambars.

There now remain the 6 hours to be intercalated. This mode of intercalation is called Zamun Vehijakik or hours-intercalations. These 6 hours, at the end of every year, become totalized into an integral day after every 4 years, into 10 days every 40 years, one month every 120 years, 5 months every 600 years, and one year every 1440 years. Why this particular integral multiplication table is given is to be attempted to explain below.

The two Zoroastrian intercalations are intended to take place at the end of the year. So do the chief ceremonies of the dead[1] take place at the end of the year. The Romans intercalated their year and worshipped the manes of the dead in the same month, that of February, which was the last month when March was first.

The Jews intercalated the last month Adar and have their embolistic year of 13 months. In this month Adar in connection with the souls of the deceased ancestors the festival of Purian is held.

Bhadrapada among the Hindus is the month for the Pitris, the deceased's souls, and possibly when the year commenced with Asô in the autumnal equinox, the Pitris were invoked in the month preceding Asô, the month of Bhadrapada.[2]

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[1] The chief ceremony takes place at the end of 12 months after the death of an individual. The annual ceremony of all the deceased at any time of the year takes place at the end of the 12th calendar month of every year.

[2] The method of intercalation among the Hindus, who use lunar years, is different from that of the Hebrews who also use lunar years. So the complete anology fails here.

The Zoroastrians do not invoke the Ferohars of the dead on the first three days after death; thereafter, the Ferohar ceremonies commence. The 4th, 10th, 31st, and 366th days after death are specially allotted to the Ferohars of such dead.[1] The five months may be the five winter months, the Aiwi-gâma, the second, the last, of the two seasons Hamen and Zayana, there being seven months of summer and five of winter. The 1440 years refer to 360 days of each year multiplied into four years for each day intercalation.

Why in fixing 1440 years, equal to one month in 120 years, or twelve months in 1440 years, the $5\frac{1}{4}$ days were not taken into account cannot be so easily explained. Some consider that a stroke added to the numeral 𐬛 forty, would raise it to 𐬜 sixty, and perhaps this stroke actually existed in old copies, but was latterly neglected by the fresh copyists. Even then the quarter day would be left off. To give a complete turn to a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days it would require 1461 years to run over.

This Zamun Vahijakik is the Kabisanisi, postponement, etc.; without it, the festivals would shift downwards falling earlier than on their proper tropical days. Hence the urgency to make this intercalation as strict as possible to keep the festivals close up to the seasons.

The Dinkard says: "Of it (the table given above) the hour intercalary process after the expiration of certain number of years is to be by a *yum* day, this for the reason that these six hours, made up at the end of the days of every year of fractions of fractional hours after a certain number of years become so many (*i. e.* one day) collectively in that time (4 years)."

At another place it adds: "The year of the hours-intercalary process (leap year), which becomes so much collectively after the lapse of a certain number of years, must be taken into account when the accumulation has reached to the length of an integral day and this process leads to a strict connection with the seasons of the year."

This intercalary day process must not be brought into effect until the month, which is the last, has become ended, and according to the good religion it should not be allowed to exceed the five months or the fifth month.[2]

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1 The Ferohar ceremonies commence on the fourth day and intercalation takes places every fourth year.

2 According as the numeral five is taken cardinally or ordinally.

This means that as the day's intercalation is performed at the end of the last month, and as the five days are included in it, on the last five days of the Hashmurtic year, so this hour-intercalation must follow after the five days, and as the year closes with the five months of winter and as it should be carried out within the year, it is enjoined that it should not be postponed beyond the year closing the winter days, the Aiwi-gâma.

The Mahommedan authors have invariably referred to an intercalation of one month, arguing that a day-intercalation was prohibited as it would involve the necessity of giving a name to that new day. This difficulty would equally as forcibly stand against intercalation of a month. But this is averted by the Mahommedans saying, that the month was not at all named. Likewise the objection against a day-intercalation could have been averted by not naming it.

But the fact is: we have actually the annual intercalation of five days which are specially named by different names distinct from the order of the names of 30 days of a month, so it could have been done in the case of the 6th day by giving an appropriate name.

But as the 6th intercalary day was not an occurrence of every year, but was a second addition after certain years, it was called Apara, the second or the next or the last intercalation. Thus the Aferghan is called Avardât Sâl Gâh, appertaining to intercalation, which in Avesta would be expressed by the word Aparadata. Opposite of Apara is *pourum*, as for instance, Aparem-asna and Pourum-asna, Apare-havana and Fratara-havana. Thus the five days' intercalation is *fratara* or *pourum* intercalation, and the next following the 6th day's intercalation is *apara* intercalation.

The Gregorian, 4 years—a day,—intercalation is, for instance, the *fratara* intercalation, and after the first three centurial years being left unintercalated the fourth is intercalated, and the further correction of the calender[1] is *apara* intercalation. The corrections first and second may be followed by the third, as in the Gregorian system, after some thousands of years, but in all these intercalations the length of the annual six hours must not exceed one day at any time.

The Averdâd Sâl Gâh would mean the Apâra, Pehlevi Avanik, additional, the second, the next, placed Gâh, intercalary day of the year. There is a Khordad Sâl

[1] In not making leap years in the first three centuries.

Jashan also without the word Gâh following it. Gâh is Gâthâ, each particular intercalary day is a particular Gâh, out of the Gâthâbyo, the five additional days. As the intercalations are at the end of the year, this Jashan is held to this day on the Khordad rôj of the last month of the year. In this Afraghan the word Apara does not occur, but the name of each single Gâthâ occurs therein. Perhaps this was the Afraghan of the five days' intercalation, and the Averdâd Sâl Gâh Afraghan was recited every four years only on the last month of the year, but perhaps on Khordad rôj itself with the additional name of the 6th Gâthâ Apara.[1]

There is no difference between the Afraghan of Khordad Sâl and that of the Averdâd Sâl Gâh except that, in the latter, the five gâhs and the Yâ Visâd Karda are mentioned, for the rest word by word both are the same. Of course, the Khshnumen differs accordingly. Hence, the present day practice is to recite the Averdâd Sâl Gâh Afraghan on Rôj Khordâd Mâh Spendad. Khordâd is the archangel presiding over time, so the Afraghan appropriate to the new year day is said on the Rôj Khordâd of the first month Ferverdin. And that on the last day of the year on Rôj Khordâd of the last month Aspendâd.

This intercalation—Zamun Vahijakik—of a day is for the purpose of keeping the calendar quite close to the seasons. That being done, the common years intervening the two leap years are also brought up to conform to the seasons.

Hence all the festivals in a common year are also seasonal. The Navroj, the Mehrengan, and all the rest of the Jashans of old instituted at the beginning of the world are all dependent and persuant on the new day of the new year, it being kept fixed to the vernal equinox. On these intercalary periods the people rested from all work and enjoyed themselves free of every care and anxiety.

If this intercalation is not observed, every religious organisation will be upset and all the social institutions will be deranged that are regulated to conform to the seasons, and agriculture will consequently have lost its regularity.

How could such an end be attained if the hours intercalation, which came to a day integral-multiplication in four years, be postponed till 120 years, or twice that—

[1] Perhaps the word Apara is applied to the last Vehista-isti Gâthâ. The annual Vehista-isti being the first when the four-yearly Averdad Sâl Gâh became the next, *i.e.*, the second Vehista-isti Gâthâ. If one dies on the second Vehista-isti Gâthâ in the leap year, his anniversary would take place in the non-leap years on the usual annual Vehista-isti Gâthâ.

240 years—have expired ? Such an intercalation would be a farce, in a system having in view the object to keep the festivals close to the seasons. The very fact of the years being tropical and called Zima, Aiwi-gâma, Saredha, Zaremaya, entirely forbids the notion of postponing the intercalation beyond a single day.

The last intercalary day—Zamun-Vahijakik—is the 6th Gâthâ at the end of the year, the 366th day.

The nations who have copied from us the Zoroastrian calendar of twelve months of thirty days each and five additional days at their end and who have adopted the hours intercalation—Zamun-Vahijakik—do the same, that is, they also add the 6th Gâthâ in the leap year. If they have adopted our calendar it may be assumed that they have so followed it in the matter of the 6th additional day also.

Averdâd could, in Pehlevi, be read Khordad too, and assuming this reading to be correct, and taking the present-day practice of reciting the Jashan on Khordad Rôj, it is possible to assume that the 6th intercalary day was placed after Khordad, on a second Khordad Rôj, just as the bis-sextile among the Romans was added on to the sixth day before the end of February, that is, after 22nd February. Bis-sextile means the second sixth.

But the Dinkard is clear in stating that the five days were not to be placed within any of the 12 months, but after the end of the 12th month, and that the six hours were placed after such five days but before the closing of the year.

The tendency of the system is to have each new addition placed after the previous, hence the addition of the day of the six hours-total cannot but have been placed after the five days and not before.

The present practice of the Jashan taking place on Khordad Rôj is explainable just in the same way as the Jashan of the new day is performed not on Hormuzd Rôj but on Khordad, that of the Rapithwan not on Hormuzd Rôj but on Ardibehesht, that of Meherghan not on Hormuzd Rôj but on Meher Rôj.

A Historical Sketch of Ragha, the Supposed Home of Zoroaster's Mother

BY

PROFESSOR A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

NEW YORK CITY.

I remember well the day in 1903 that I spent in roaming over the ruins of Rai, near Teheran, and examining the site of this dead city of the silent past, the ancient Ragha, which was connected with the name of Zoroaster's mother and with various important events in the long history of Iran. In *Persia Past and Present* I have described the appearance to-day of the ancient ruins, the crumbling walls, mounds, hollows, towers, bricks, and masses of potsherds and debris lying buried beneath the soil or half-emerging from the dust of ages, and have indicated the rough outlines for a historical sketch of this quondam metropolis from the earliest times until it fell into decay five centuries or more ago. Being now on my way again to Persia and Central Asia, I take the opportunity *en route* of putting together my notes on the pre-Muhammadan history of Ragha, once known as 'Zarathushtrian Ragha' and supplementing it by brief memoranda on the fortunes of the city after the days of the Arab conquest, thus completing, if inadequately, a rough draft or outline of the historic annals of the town.

As a monograph the sketch is necessarily somewhat imperfect, because thrown into its final form on shipboard where I have not access to a number of books that I need for verifying or expanding the notes that I have long been collecting on the subject; but imperfect though it be, I dedicate it as a slight evidence of the deep regard I feel for the memory of that renowned scholar Spiegel, in whose honour the Parsis have caused this volume of Iranian contributions to be prepared.

The Avesta, the Old Persian Inscriptions, the Bible, and the Greek and Roman classics, combine with the Later Persian and Arabic literature in furnishing materials for a historical sketch of Ragha, and I shall make use of these sources in nearly the order named, turning first, however, to the general question of the antiquity of Ragha and presenting legends regarding its founding.

1. The Antiquity of Ragha and Legends regarding the Founding of the City.

It is universally acknowledged that the city of Ragha (Av. *Raghā*, O. P. *Ragā*, Phl. *Rai*, N. P. *Rai*) is one of the oldest seats of civilization in Iran, and was one of the foremost towns of ancient Media (*cf.* Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, 2. 66). The Oriental writers of Muhammadan times were wont to call it the 'Mother of Cities,' or the 'Dean of Cities' (see Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse de Yaqout*, article "Rai"). Traditions and legends given by Persian and Arabic chroniclers and geographers concerning its foundation are various, and some of these assign its beginnings to the ancient time of Hoshang, the first king of Iran, who lived in the fourth millennium before the Christian era, if the Iranian traditional date be accepted as given in Dr. West's chronological tables in my *Zoroaster*, p. 180. The legends themselves are brief, and will be found recorded by Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 273, n. 1, and for that reason they need not be repeated here.

Almost as great antiquity is ascribed to Ragha by the Bundahishn, or Old Pahlavi 'Book of Origins,' which assumes in a particular passage (Bd. 31. 40) that Rai was already flourishing in the time of Kai Khusrav, in the ninth century before the Christian era, since the governorship of the city was given to that ruler, whom tradition dates at B.C. 840-780. For the passage consult the editions of the Bundahishn by Justi, Westergaard, and Unvalla, and compare the translation by West, *Pahlavi Texts*, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 5, 140.

2. References to Ragha ('Rages, Ragau') in the Apocryphal Old Testament.

If we leave out of account these traditions handed down by later Zoroastrian and Muhammadan writers, we have Biblical evidence from the Apocryphal Old Testament to show the city of Ragha was an important contemporary of Nineveh and Ecbatana. It is mentioned as 'Rages' or 'Ragau' in connection with both these cities in the apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith, and the chain of events to which the passages refer points back to the eighth and seventh centuries before the Christian era.[1]

[1] Cf Löhr, in Kautsch, *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, p. 137, n. *a*; p. 147, n, b,, Freiburg, 1898. Furthermore, for details as to the various spellings of the name Rages in the apocryphal texts see the article by Sayce, in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 4. 193, and the article in Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 4, 4005. For

According to the Book of Tobit (Tob. 1. 14) it was 'at Rages (Ragha) of Media' that Tobit the Jew left ten talents of silver in the keeping of Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, and sent his son Tobias thither from Nineveh to receive the money back from its custodian and to bring it again to Nineveh. As the apocryphal story tells, the dutiful son set out on the journey accompanied by the angel Raphael in disguise and proceeded as far as Ecbatana. There he tarried and wedded Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, a damsel who had been tormented by the demon Asmodeus —an evil spirit generally identified with Aeshma the Daeva in the Avesta. The angel Raphael continued his journey to Rages alone, received the silver from Gabael, and returned, accompanied by the latter, to participate in the fuller nuptial festivities of Tobias and Sarah.[1]

In the Book of Judith, moreover, we are told that Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled over Nineveh (B.C. 600), 'made war with Arphaxad, who reigned over the Medes in Ekbatana,' and the two kings 'fought in the great plain,' to which the text adds: 'this plain is in the borders of Ragau (Ragha)' (Judith 1. 5). A further text recounts the issue of the battle and tells how Nebuchadnezzar prevailed in the fight and 'took Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau and smote him through with his darts' (Judith 1. 15). This king Arphaxad is generally identified with the Median ruler Fraortes, whom Nebuchadnezzar overthrew; the mountains may be a part of the Alborz range, as is generally supposed, or the spurs which form a minor ridge curving around Rai, as shown in the photograph in my *Persia*, facing p. 427.[2]

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the special classical passages consult the article "Rhages" in Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geogr.* 2. 701, and compare also my own sketch of Rhages in Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature*, p. 1369-70. See likewise Rawlinson, *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 10. 137, London, 1841. Many other details regarding Rai and its history will be found in Curzon, *Persia* 1. 345-352; in Ouseley, *Travels in Persia*, 3. 174-179, London, 1823; Ker Porter. *Travels in Persia*, I. 358-360; Rosenberg *Le Livre de Zoroastre*, pp. 3, 80. Marquart, *Eranshahr*, pp, 122-124, Berlin, 1901; Moulton, *The Book of Tobit*, and my own *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 428-441.

[1] See Tobit 1. 14; 4. 1, 20; 5. 5; (6. 9); 6. 12; 9. 2. It is to be noticed that the mention of the city of Rages in Tobit 6. 9 is a mistake for the name Ekbatana, which is rightly given in two texts, the Codex Vaticanus (B) and the Codex Sinaiticus (K). See likewise Löhr in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, p. 141, Freiburg, 1898. The Itala, or old Latin version, the Hebrew and the Aramaic versions serve also to prove this fact; see Neubauer, *Book of Tobit*, introduction, pp. 36, 55, 76, Oxford, 1878.

[2] Ibn Haukal, *Geography*, (transl. Ouseley, p. 174) speaks of 'the mountains of Rai.' There is a similar allusion in Strabo, *Geography*, 11. 13. 7, and likewise in Yakut who refers to the 'bare and arid mountains which dominate it.' Cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Geogr. de la Perse*, p. 274.) It is noteworthy that the old Latin (Itala), Hebrew, and Aramaic versions of Tobit state that 'Rages is built on the mountain, but Agbatanis in the plain,' and that they are 'two days' journey' apart, cf. Neubauer, *op. cit.* pp. 34, 53, 75.

3. Ragha in the Avesta.

Turning from the Bible to the Avesta, we find Ragha mentioned twice in the Zoroastrian scriptures and definitely connected with Zarathushtra's name. As I have discussed these passages in *Zoroaster the Prophet*, pp. 202-205, I shall limit my observations here to the more important facts and refer the reader to that volume, if more details be desired.

The Vendidad (Vol. 1. 15) speaks of 'Ragha of the three races' (*ragha thri-zantu*) as the twelfth blessed place created by Ahura Mazda's power, although the same verse immediately adds that 'the devilish Aŋra Mainyu counter-created the sin of excessive unbelief' to mar its perfection. The Pahlavi commentary on the passage locates Ragha in Ātūr-pātakān (Azarbaijan) and adds, 'some say it is Rai,' while a gloss expressly states that 'some say Zoroaster was of that place.' The attribute 'having three races' (*thri-zantu*), applied to Ragha, is explained by the glossator as a reference to the three classes of priests, warriors, and husbandmen, who were organized there, but some modern interpreters suggest that the three races may refer to the border districts, which touched upon the town and province of Rai, since Ragha was one of the outlying territories of Media, being included later in Parthia, upon whose frontier it indirectly verged.[1]

The second of the Avestan passages that connect the name of Zoroaster with Ragha is Yasna 19.18, a verse which speaks of the city as a headquarters of the Zarathustrian faith, a sort of pontifical seat of the papal see of Magism and home of the patriarch or metropolitan. The text explicitly states that all places except Zarathushtrian Ragha (*Rajōit Zarathushtrōit*) had five rulers, Ragha alone being governed by four. This was due to the fact that above the secular head of the house, the village, the province, and the country, there stood in all cases the spiritual head, termed the 'Zarathushtra' (*Zarathushtra*). In Ragha, however, the pontifical and temporal lordship was vested in a single individual, who is elsewhere called 'the supreme Zoroaster' (*Zarathushtrōtema, e. g.* Ys. 26. 1; Yt. 10. 115, etc.), 'the Zarathustra is the fourth' (*Zarathushtrō tūiryā*, Ys. 19. 18). The Pahlavi version of the passage in referring to Rai in connection with Zoroaster, calls it 'his own district' (*matā-i-ŋafšman*), the name of the

[1] See Strabo, *Geography* 11. 9. 9.

town, as often, being applied equally to the district around it, as noted in my *Zoroaster*, p. 203, in which volume also (pp. 192-205) will be found the special passages in the later Parsi literature, which make Ragha the actual birth-place of Zoroaster or, rather, the early home of his mother.

4. References in the Old Persian Inscriptions.

Passing to the Old Persian Inscriptions we find Ragha (O. P. *Ragā*) in the cuneiform records at Behistan as the name both of a district (*dahyu*) and of a city, both of which meanings it traces elsewhere, as I have already stated.[1] Its importance in the rock annals is twofold. In the first place, the Median rebel and pretender Fravarti (Phraortes), when defeated by Darius in battle, withdrew to 'Raga, a district of Media,' and was there captured by the Persian king and carried to Ecbatana and impaled after being horribly mutilated and tortured (see Bh. 2. 70-78, and cf. *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 157-158). In the second place, it was from Raga that Darius later despatched an army to aid his father Vishtaspa to crush a rebellion in Parthia (Bh. 3. 1-10).

5. Ragha, Rhagae in the Classics.

Ragha was known to the Greeks as *Rhagai* (Lat. *Rhagae*, or *Raga*), and was especially referred to in connection with the overthrow of Darius Codomannus by Alexander the Great. Arrian (3. 20. 2) states that, despite the wearied condition of his soldiers, Alexander pressed after his retreating enemy, covered the distance between Ecbatana and Rhagae in ten days, and 'came on the eleventh day to Rhagae,' only to find that Darius had fled and made his way through the Caspian Gates, 'a day's journey' beyond Rhagae.

Strabo (A.D. 30) twice states on authority of others that there was a distance of about '500 stadia' (57 miles) between Rhagae and the Caspian Gates (see Strabo, *Geogr.* 11. 9. 1; 11. 13. 6), and he further states that the city was founded by Seleucus Nicator, a general and successor of Alexander, and that Seleucus gave to the town the name Europus, which the Parthians subsequently changed, re-naming it Arsacia, in honor of King Arsakes (B.C. 250), the founder of the Parthian line. Strabo adds that other cities, Laodiceia, Apameia, and Heracleia, near Rhagae were of

[1] Compare, for example, the allusion also in Yakut, p. 276, to the 'cantons' of Rai, and in Ibn Haukal, p. 175, to the district of Rai,' and consult *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 202.

Greek origin, having been founded by the Macedonians, and that Rhagae received its name from the chasms rent in the ground by earthquakes (Gk. *rhageisēs . . . gēs*, 'the ground being rent' — cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1. 3. 19; 11. 9. 1; 11. 13. 6). Although this explanation of the name Ragha is merely a Greek popular etymology, earthquakes actually did damage the city; and even though the founding of the city is wrongly attributed to Seleucus, it is by no means improbable that he rebuilt or enlarged it, especially since the other cities in the vicinity, which Strabo mentions, were practically due to the Greeks. Certain minor details in the Strabo references, moreover, are helpful in locating the site of ancient Ragha.

In a still older classical passage, Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 50) states that Antigonus, one of the generals of Alexander, returned to Media after defeating and slaying his enemy Eumenes, in B.C. 316, and spread his troops over the whole Median territory, especially in the district (Gk. *eparchía*) of Rhages, which had received its name from the terrific earthquakes that had visited it. These mighty convulsions of nature had engulfed cities and people alike, so that not one was left, and the face of the country was so altered that rivers and lakes appeared where none had been before (see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 19. 2, fin. (19. 44) and consult the translation by Booth, 2. 355, London, 1844).

Isidorus Characenus (first century A.D.) in his *Mansiones Parthicae*, 7, mentions 'Rhaga' in connection with the Median town of Charax, the former being 'the largest of the cities of Media' and the latter lying at the base of a mountain near the Caspian Gates (see Isidorus Characenus, *Mansiones Parthicae*, 7, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1855, 1882).

The Greek geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 150) in his well-known work (*Geogr.* 6. 5. 5) locates 'Rhageia' in Parthia, just as Strabo did (11. 9. 1), in consideration of the expansion of the Parthian domain, but in his map Ptolemy includes Europus and Arsacia in Media.

The Greek writer Athenaeus (A.D. 225) states in his *Deipnosophistae*, or 'Banquet of Scholars,' that 'the Parthian kings pass the spring season in Rhagae, and their courtiers in Babylon' (see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 12, p. 513 F., ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1827, 2. 1152).

Stephanus Byzantinus (c. A. D. 500?), in his geographical work entitled *Ethnica*, has a statement under the heading 'Rhága,' which is closely akin to the

earlier one of Strabo, since it defines Rhaga as 'a city in Media' (the ethnic adjective from Rhagae being Rhagenus, after the manner of Carrhenus) and it was founded by Seleucus Nicator and called Europus, but renamed Arsace in honor of King Arsacus' (see Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*, 1. 542, ed. Meineker, Berlin, 1849).

6. Pahlavi Allusions to Ragha (Rai).

To the Greek material may be added the Pahlavi allusions of Sasanian times to Ragha, or Rai, as it is called, but I do not repeat these here in detail, because I have already given the more important of these in *Zoroaster the Prophet*, pp. 192, 202-204 and have also referred above to the tradition that Kai Khusrav, in ancient times was governor of Rai (see Bund. 31. 46). There is likewise an incidental allusion to 'Rai, Damavand, Delman, and Patakhshvargar,' as border towns, in the Karnamak-i Artakhshir Papakan (see edition by Darab D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1896, p. 21), as well as one or two minor references which need not be cited (for example, Epist. Manuschihar, 2. 1. 13, see West, SBE. 18. 329). It may be noted in passing, moreover, that Rai is not mentioned in the list of cities given in the Pahlavi treatise Shatrōihā-ī Āīrān — an omission which Marquart (*Eranshahr*, p. 122) ascribes to a lacuna in the Pahlavi text. We know, however, that Rai maintained its position as a centre of Zoroastrianism during the Sasanian period and much later, so that it is probable that the omission is accidental.

The last of the Sasanian kings, Yazdagard III, moreover, issued at Rai, in A.D. 641, his final appeal to the nation to join in the fruitless attempt to stem the advancing tide of Arab invasion and he fled from Rai to Khorasan after the signal defeat at Nihavand (see Zotenberg, *Tabari*, 3. 467-468, and cf. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, 3. 556-558). The name, furthermore, of Yazdagard's daughter Shahr Banu, who married Husain, the luckless younger son of Muhammad's daughter and his cousin Ali, is still perpetuated in a mountain called Kuh-i-Bibi Shahr-Banu, which overlooks Rai. The place where the princess took refuge is still said to be hallowed to women and may not be profaned by the footstep of a man (see Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 88, and *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 131).

7. After the Arab Conquest.

The Arab conquest changed the national history of Iran, but, though it may have dimmed, it did not destroy the glory of Rai, for the writers who speak of the

city after the invasion, still describe it with an enthusiasm that shows its glory had not departed ; 'Bride of the Universe,' 'Largest and Most Flourishing City in the World' are among its epithets, and its richness and size are descanted upon in glowing terms by Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, Ahmed Razi, Yakut and others.

From Yakut and other sources we know that the Caliph al-Mahdi (A.D. 775-785) enlarged the walls, strengthened them by a moat, and beautified the city with a handsome mosque (Yakut, pp. 277, 577). At Rai, moreover, his renowned son Harun ar-Rashid, the most brilliant figure in the annals of this caliphate and well-known as the hero in the Arabian Nights, was born in A.D. 763. A century after an earthquake shook the city to its foundation — an occurrence which recalls the seismic disturbances mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo (*cf.* Brugsch, *Im Lande der Sonne*, p. 289) — but the damage that was done could not have been irreparable, for both Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, writing in the tenth century, describe the good condition of the city and its flourishing trade (see my *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 430-432).

Not a century elapsed, however, before the tide of invasion again swept over Rai; this time it was the hosts of the Afghan conqueror, Mahmud of Gaznah, that conquered the city in A.D. 1027 (or 1029), and we can picture the proud Afghans, with their magnificent physique, as they marched triumphant through the streets. When the Turkman power succeeded the Afghan, in the same century, the Turkish dynast Tughral Beg, of the Seljuk line, made Rai one of his places of residence and died there in 1063. His nephew Alp Arslan, 'the Great Lion,' likewise recognized the city as one of the royal capitals (*cf.* Curzon, *Persia*, 1.349), but Rai had passed its zenith, and the Mongol hordes led by Chingiz Khan hastened the doom of this 'Mother of Cities.' When Yakut visited Rai in A.D. 1220, shortly after Chingiz Khan's raid, the effect of the terrible ravages were only too manifest, but enough of the splendour and magnificence remained to await the plundering hosts of Timur Lang, about A.D. 1381, who completed the destruction. Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to Timur's court, passed Rai in A.D. 1404 and describes it as 'a great city, all in ruins; but there appeared towers and mosques ; and the name of the place was Xaharihrey' (*i.e.*, Shahr-i Rai) — see Clavijo, *Narrative of an Embassy*, Hakluyt Society, 26. 99. The city must have recovered, however, because Timur's youngest son Shah Rukh (1404-1447) and his grandson Khalil Sultan, the devoted

lover of Shad-al Mulk, whose mausoleum is said to be at Rai, made the city one of their governmental seats. After Khalil's death, Rai seems to have fallen more and more into decay, giving place to the growing city of Teheran, as I have pointed out in *Persia*, p. 419, so that when Sir John Chardin described the city, about the year A.D. 1700, he closed his description with a Persian verse that was current:

'I saw in a vision the Angel of Death
Fleeing at dawn in despair;
It was from Rai that he fled away,
In dread of the noisome air.'[1]

Such, in concise form, is the history of this ancient city. I may refer briefly, in closing, to Sir Henry Rawlinson's claim that the present ruins at Rai are not actually identical with the location of the Ragha of antiquity, but that the site of the ancient city is probably to be sought at the modern Kalah-i Iraj, near Veramin, about twenty-three miles from the Sadarah Pass, which is thought to represent the Caspian Gates of the classic writers. I have expressed doubts on the subject in *Persia Past and Present* (p. 430, n. 3), but I shall reserve a final decision until I visit the ruins at Veramin on the journey in which I am now engaged.

Finished on board the steamer Kronprinz Wilhelm, en route for Persia April 28, 1907.

[1] Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, 1, 279-280, Amsterdam, 1735. The unhealthy climate of Rai was referred to by some early Muhammadan writers, for example Mustaufi and Ahmad Razi; see Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Geogr. de la Perse* 275, n. 2.

A Chinese Account of Persia in the Sixth Century

BY

KENTOK HORI,

BUDDHIST MINISTER OF THE CHURCH, WESTERN HONGWANJI, JAPAN.

The opening up of the Chinese records in recent years has added much to Occidental knowledge of India, Persia, and Central Asia, and each new piece of information discovered in the old records of China, small though that information be, is welcome. For this reason, I desire to present a short account of Persia, belonging to the sixth century A.D., which is found in one of the Chinese histories.

The *Wei-shu*, or Chinese History of the *Wei* Dynasty, was written about 572 A. D. by *Wei Shóu*, whose date is 506-572 A. D. (see Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, p. 867), and it covers the period of a century and a half from 386 to 535 A. D. The author's account of Persia under the Sasanian Dynasty is found in chapter 102 of his work, and as it is interesting as well as valuable, I translate the whole passage from the Chinese, thanking at the same time Professors F. Hirth and A. V. W. Jackson of Columbia University for some suggestions in connection with certain allusions.

'Po-ssï (Persia) has its capital at the city of *Su-li* (Seleukia).[1] This country is situated west of *Niu-mi*,[2] and was called *T'iau-chi* (Chaldea)[3] in ancient times. Its distance from *Tai*[4] is 24,228 *li*. The city has an area of ten *li* square, with over one hundred thousand families. A river[5] runs south through the city. The land of the country is flat and level, and produces gold, silver, *tóu-shï*,[6]

[1] The city *Su-li* of the Chinese is Seleukia, north of Babylon (see Droysen, *Historischer Handatlas*, Nos. 1, 8) and located on the western bank of the Tigris. With Ktesiphon, on the opposite bank of the river, it combined to form the Sasanian capital (cf. Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 211-213).

[2] Regarding the identification I have no suggestion to offer at present.

[3] Chaldea was once a state subordinate to Parthia (see Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 146-148).

[4] *Tai* is the old name of the present *Ta-t'ung-fu*.

[5] The 'river' referred to here is the Tigris.

[6] *Tóu-shï* is an alloy of metals, probably a kind of bronze or brass. The Uiguric, Turki, and other Turkish dialects have *tuch*, *tüj*, and *tuus*. This designation may appear in Italian *tausia*, inlaid metal work, from which German *tauschiren* is said to have been derived.

coral, amber, *ch'ö-k'ü* (a kind of shell) and cornelians. It has also many great pearls, transparent and opaque glass, crystal, turquoise (*sö-sö*), diamonds, *huo-ts'i* (said to be a kind of *lapis lazuli*), steel, copper, tin, permillion, mercury, several kinds of silk and cotton textures, rugs and carpets, hide of red deer, gum olibanum, turmeric, storax, *ts'ing-mu* (*lit.*, green wood), and other fragrant substances, pepper long pepper, sugar, Persian dates, (lit. one thousand year dates), a kind of tuber (*cyperus esculenatus*, *hiang-fu-tzï*), myrobalans (*ho-li-lö*), nutgalls (*wu-shï-tzï*), salt, green hartel (*lü-tz'ï-huang*) and the like articles.

The climate is hot, and families lay in a store of ice. The country contains many sand steppes, watered by irrigation. The flora and fauna (lit., cereals, birds and quadrupeds) in this country are in general similar to those of China, but there is no rice or millet. The land produces famous horses,[1] large donkeys (mules), and camels, some of which can often run 700 *li* in a day. Rich families possess even as many as several thousands [of these animals].

Furthermore, the country produces white elephants, lions,[2] and eggs of large birds (ostriches). There is a bird, resembling a camel in shape (*cf.* the word *shutrmurgh*, lit., 'camel-bird,' the ostrich); it flies with its two wings, but not high up. It eats both grasses and flesh, and also can swallow fire.

The family name of the king of this country is *Po*, and his personal name is *Ssï*.[3] The monarch sits on the 'golden ram throne,'[4] wears a crown (or cap) with golden ornaments, and robe of brocade, decorated with pearls and jewels.[5]

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[1] Persia's boast of its good horses is as old as the Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions, for King Darius speaks of 'Persia, the beautiful land of good horses and good men,' *pārsa ..... hyā naibā uvaspā umartiyā* Dar. Pers. 4. 7-9, and there is an adjective *hu-aspa*, 'having good horses,' found in Yasht 10. 76; Yasna 65. 4.

[2] The elephant, especially the white elephant, is Indian and Siamese, and not originally Persian, for it does not occur in the older Iranian literature nor is it found on the Achæmenian sculptures at Persepolis, although the allusions to the elephant (*pil*) are not uncommon in Firdausi's Shāh Nāmah. The lion is found sculptured among the Persepolitan ruins, and at Susa. For illustrations, see M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, 3. plates 14, 16, 18. It is also to be seen in the figures on the Sasanian vases and intaglios found at Naksh-i-Rustam (*ibid.* 5. 104, fig. 95, 96, and 5. 124, fig. 108).

[3] A fanciful etymology of the Chinese name for Persia, *Po-ssï*.

[4] This is interesting as contrasted with Persia's 'Peacock Throne' of later days. The allusion appears to be a throne covered with golden fleece.

[5] For the crown, or balloon-shaped headgear, dress, or ornaments of the Persian kings in the Sasanian period see the Sasanian sculpture at Takht-i-Bostān, Naksh-i Rustam, and Naksh-i-Rajāb, in M. Dieulafoy, *ibid.* 5, plates 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, and also compare Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 219.

As to the customs of the people the men cut their hair short, and wear white fur caps, shirts [open at the top] to run the head through and open in the lower part of both sides, and they have also turbans and cloaks, and they manufacture brocade from woven materials.[1] The women wear loose shirts and large cloaks. Their hair is made into a coil in front, but left loose behind, and adorned with gold and silver flowers, and over and above this, a string of variegated pearls hangs down on their shoulders.

The king has in his country about a dozen minor residences [beside his capital] just like the summer palaces in China. Every year in April or May he goes there and takes recreation until he comes back to the capital in November. Sometime after his accession the king chooses from his sons the most intelligent one, enters his name on a document, and keeps it, in a sealed letter in his treasury without his other sons and the ministers knowing it. When the king dies, the assemblage [of princes and ministers] take out the letter, and he, whose name appears in the sealed letter cover, is to be raised to the throne, the other princes being appointed to frontier posts. The brothers thus do not meet again. The natives call their ruler by the word *I-tsa* [old sound according to K'ang-hi: *i-tsat*, *i. e.*, the Persian *izad*, 'god'] ; his consort, *Fang-pu-so* [2] ; the sons of the king, *Sha-yé* (Shāh). Among their high officials are the *Mo-hu* (Avestan *Moghu*, Old Persian *Magu*, 'Magi'), who directs the criminal and judicial affairs ; the *Ni-hu-han*,[3] who has charge of the treasury, which he opens and closes; the *Ti-tsau*,[3] who has charge of official documents and all other affairs. Next in rank, comes the *O-lo-ho-ti*,[3] who controls the department of the royal household, the *Sié-po-p'o*[4] [Japanese Set-pa-bot], who has charge of military affairs all over the country. These officials have under them subordinates, each of whom directs his own respective department. Soldiers are provided with armour, lances, round shields, swords, crossbows, bows

[1] For this last clause, 'they manufacture brocade from woven materials,' I base my translation on the fuller phrase *i-chī-ch'-'eng-chin* found in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, chapter 794, p. 10a, which explicitly contains the word brocade (*chin*).

[2] In Ma-tuan-lin's *Compilation* (chap. 339, p. 7), we find *Thi-so* instead of *Fang-pu-so* in the *Weï-shu*. For the identification of both these words, I have no suggestion to offer.

[3] As to the identification, I have no suggestion to give, and I shall be glad to receive any suggestions on the subject.

[4] Chinese *Sié-po-p'o* is certainly Pahlavi *Sipāh-pad*, *i. e.*, army-lord, Avestan *Sipādha*, Old Persian *Spāda*. Cf. Hoshangji, Haug and West, *The Arda Viraf*, pp, 156, 160, and Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, column 1617.

and arrows.[1] In battle, they have elephants mounted by soldiers and a hundred men following them.[2]

As to the criminal law, capital punishment is administered to the culprits by their being hung up on a pole and shot with arrows. The punishment next to this, is confinement to prison. When a new king succeeds the throne, the prisoners are released. Lighter offences are visited by the cutting off of the nose or a foot of an offender, the shaving of his head, the shaving of hair on one of his temples or the hanging of a pillorising board on the neck. Highway robbery is punished by imprisonment for life; adultery with the legal wife of a nobleman, by banishment of the male offender, the lady having her ears and nose cut off.

The land tax is levied in the shape of an impost of money payable on an assessment of the area owned by the payee. People worship the 'Fire-god'[3] and the 'Heaven-god.'[4] Their style of writing is different from that of the *Hu* (Tātars). Marriages with one's own sisters,[5] both as legal wife and concubine, are frequent, and other marriage alliances are likewise contracted without distinction of rank. In this respect, they are, indeed, the most shameful and filthiest among all foreign nations. If there is among the people a girl above the age of ten years of particular beauty, the king takes her into his harem to rear her, in order to be given away to some man of merit as an act of grace.

The corpses of the dead are commonly exposed (lit. left) on the hills[6]; mourning clothes are worn for a month.[7]

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[1] Regarding armour and weapons of the ancient Persians, compare Jackson, *Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Drisler*, 95-125, New York, 1896.

[2] For a parallel account in Chinese regarding the use of elephants in the ancient Indian warfare, consult Hüan Tsang, *Si-yu-ki*, chapter 2, tr. by Beal, 1, 82.

[3] For the characteristics of the divine personification of Fire in the Mazdā-yasnian faith, as promulgated by Zoroaster, compare in the Gāthas, for example, Yasna, 31. 3, 12, 19; 34. 4; 43. 4, 9; 47. 6; 51. 9; and in the Younger Avesta, Yasna 16. 4; 17. 1.

[4] The allusion to the God of heaven or Sky-god, in Chinese, *T'ien-shön* (lit. Sky-god), is obviously to Mithra, the divinity of Heaven.

[5] Sanjānā asserts that the alleged practice of next-of-kin marriage is not found among the primitive Zoroastrians, but it belongs to the later period (cf. Sanjānā, *Zarathustra in the Gathās*, Appendix 1: *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Iran*, p. 205). Also refer to Hübschmann, *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 41. 300-312, and Darmsteter, *Annals du Musée Guimet*, 21, Le Zend-Avesta, p. 126-134. For further references consult Jackson, *Die iranische Religion*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 682.

[6] This is the familiar Zoroastrian custom of exposing the dead as enjoined in the Avesta, for example, *Vendidād* 6. 44-45. See Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "*Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1905.

[7] This custom of mourning may be paralleled indirectly, at least, with the injunctions of the Vendidād regarding the various periods of mourning, which varied according to the degree of the relationship to the deceased (see *Vendidād* 12. 1-24).

It is only the hermits living away from the cities, who know the proper way of burying, and these are styled "unclean folks." If these come into a city or market place, they have to shake bells to distinguish themselves from other people.[1]

In this country, new year's day is kept in the sixth moon (July).[2] Their greatest festivals are the seventh day of the seventh moon and the first day of the twelfth moon. On these days, [or on that day] the common people are invited at the king's orders to a great banquet, when music is played, and all join in gay amusement.[3] Furthermore, on the twelfth day of the first moon every one brings sacrifice to the departed soul of his ancestors.[4]

In the period *Shön-kui*,[5] this country sent to the Chinese court an ambassador, offered a message, and presented tribute. The message says:

"Oh, Son of Heaven of the Great Empire, He whom Heaven has born. I wish that in those places where the sun rises you will for ever [reign as] Son of Heaven among the *Han*. *Kü-ho-to*,[6] King of *Po-ssï* [*Kü-ho-to*, in Cantonese *Kü-wo-to*, *i.e*, Kavādh or Kobad I. (488-531 A. D.)], with millions of respectful prostrations, makes these gifts to your court."

From this time onward tribute missions were sent every year.

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[1] The hermits, whose occupation is to take care of the burial of the dead corpses, are called *Nasā-sālārs*, 'chief of the dead.' As to details of their business and distinction from the common citizens, compare Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 392.

[2] For the festival of Nō-Rūz, *i.e.*, the New Year's day, still observed in Persia since olden times, consult Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 99-101, and for its origin, see also Albērūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. by Sachau, pp. 199-204.

[3] As to the gay amusement on New Year's day, again compare Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 99-100.

[4] With regard to the sacrifice to the departed souls of one's ancestors, compare Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*,, pp. 396.

[5] *Shön-kui* is the name given to the period of reign of *Ming-ti*, who was an emperor of the Northern *Wei* Dynasty and ruled over the northern half of China between 516 and 528 A. D.

[6] Kavādh, or Kobad I. is the nineteenth ruler of Sasanian period, compare Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2.531-533. For genealogy, see *ibid*. 2-514.

INDO-IRANIAN DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY,
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Classical Allusions to the Pearl-fisheries of the Persian Gulf

BY

G. PAYN QUACKENBOS, A.M., TUTOR IN THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE COLLEGE OF HTE CITY OF NEW YORK, STUDENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF INDO-IRANIAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

That the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf are of great antiquity there can be no reasonable doubt—perhaps the pearls mentioned in the book of Job (28. 18) came from there—but the earliest direct testimony to their existence and operation is that of Nearchus, the admiral, and of Chares, the biographer of Alexander the Great. The former, as quoted by Arrian (*Indica* 38. 3) and by Strabo (*Geog.* 16. 3. 7) in the course of his famous voyage from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates, discovered, along the coast of Persis and 'at the beginning of the sail up the Persian Gulf,' 'an inhabited island,' where pearls were found 'in large quantities and of great value.' Although no name is given to this island by either of the writers mentioned, it may perhaps be identical with the island Stoidis which is described by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 6. 25 [28] : 110) as lying off the coast of Carmania and as being 'most gainful by reason of its pearls,' and again (9. 35 [54] : 106) as 'most fertile in pearls.' What the modern name of this island is would be difficult to discover, for there are no important fisheries now on this side of the gulf.

Chares mentions the fisheries, but does not confine them to any particular locality. His statement, preserved by Athenaeus (*Deipnos.* 3. 45), is as follows: 'There is caught in the Indian Sea, and also off the coast of Armenia and Persia and Susiana and Babylonia, a fish very like an oyster, from which men pick out the white bones which they call the pearl. And they make of them necklaces and chains for the hands and feet, of which the Persians are very fond as are the Medes and all Asiatics, esteeming them much more valuable than golden ornaments.'

Theophrastus the philosopher, writing not many years after Nearchus's voyage, gives contemporary evidence of the continued existence of the Persian fisheries, and is the first classical writer, aside from those extant merely in quotations, to describe

and name the pearl. In his work entitled '*Concerning Stones*' (6. 36) he says: 'Among the precious stones is that called ὁμαργαρίτης which is by nature transparent, and from it they make very expensive necklaces. It is produced in a certain oyster like the pinna, only smaller, and in size is as big as the eye of a large fish. The land of India and certain islands in the Erythraean (Sea) produce it.' The term Erythraean Sea—the Mare Rubrum of the Romans—was applied by the ancients to all the waters bounding Arabia, including the present Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the western part of the Indian Ocean (cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 16. 3.1). The islands mentioned here by Theophrastus are presumably those in the Persian Gulf, for classical writers do not mention the existence of pearl-fisheries in any other part of the Erythraean Sea.[1] In this article it is assumed that when the terms Erythraean Sea and Mare Rubrum are mentioned in connection with pearls they refer to the Persian Gulf.

The next reference in chronological sequence after that of Theophrastus is one by Silius Italicus (*Punic.* 14. 663), who, in writing of the Second Punic War, mentions, among the spoils taken at the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212 B. C. the '*munera Rubri Ponti.*' This may be an anachronism, although Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35 [59]:123) quotes Aelius Stilo to prove that pearls were used in Rome as early as the Jugurthine War (112 B.C.). But it is not till the time of Pliny the Elder that any further definite knowledge is vouchsafed us, and we are then guided to a new field—the fisheries on the Arabian side of the Gulf. 'Opposite Gerrha,' says Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 6. 28 [32]:148), 'is the island of Tylos; it is famous for the vast numbers of its pearls, and has a town of the same name.' This Tylos, which Strabo (*Geog.* 16. 3. 3) calls Tyros, and which he says was once inhabited by Phoenicians and was the parent of Tyre on the Mediterranean, is now, through the description of its location given by Pliny and Strabo, generally identified with the island or island-group Bahrein, a British possession and still one of the important pearl-marts of the world.[2]

In this connection it is difficult to refrain from wondering whether the Phoenicians, somewhere in the centuries preceding Alexander, were not the discoverers of the Persian pearl-fields and the first to exploit the trade in these precious stones; whether it is possible that jealousy of their commercial success led to their expulsion

[1] There are now some insignificant pearl-fisheries in the Red Sea, near Jiddah and Koseir.

[2] Cf. W. H. Hall, *Pearls and Pearl-fisheries*, American Naturalist, 17. 579.

from their island home by a stronger power; and whether, after the arrival at the new Tyre, it was not an attempt to find the pearl-oyster in Syrian waters that led to the discovery of that other shell-fish, the murex, which made the Tyrians so famous in the Mediterranean world. It seems, at any rate, reasonable to suppose that the Phicians at some early period worked the pearl-fisheries of Bahrein.

Two other authors of later date than Pliny speak of the Arabian oyster-beds, and one of them, Isidorus of Charax (quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 3. 46), is perhaps alluding to Tyre or Bahrein when he says, in his '*Description of Parthia*': 'In the Persian Sea there is an island where a great number of pearls are found, on which account there are quantities of boats made of rushes all about the island, from which men leap into the sea and dive down twenty fathoms and bring up two shells.' The other writer, Philostratus, who flourished about 250 A.D., after describing the artificial propagation of pearls by dwellers along the Persian coast, states (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 3. 57) that 'the Arabians who dwell on the other side are also engaged in this search (for pearls).' To these allusions we may add the statement of the *Periplous* (cap. 35), that 'there are very many pearl-fisheries at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.' Tylos and Stoidis are the only names connected with pearl-fisheries here, and these are recorded in this connection by Pliny only.'

Yet, in spite of the scarcity of definite allusion, there is ample evidence that the ancient world at large knew the Persian Gulf as the source of the pearl. Tibullus (2. 4. 30) and Propertius (3. 13. 4), for example, speak of 'the shining shell of the Red Sea,' and Silius Italicus (*Punic.* 12. 230) of 'the stone that shines with a wonderful gleam of brightness, brought from the red waves.' Martial (5. 37. 4; 9. 3. 9; 8. 28. 14) calls pearls *Erythraei lapilli*, or 'gems dug from Erythraean shallows,' and Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) compares the Red Sea pearl with the British, much to the disadvantage of the latter variety. Statius, as well as Martial, speaks (*Silvae* 4. 6. 17) of the 'Erythraean pebbles,' and Aelian (*De Animalibus* 10. 13) mentions the gem as a 'creation of the Erythaean Sea.' Ammianus Marcellinus (23. 6. 85) states that 'pearls are found among the Indians and Persians,' and Hieronymus (*Epist.* 130. 7) bears record of the 'whiteness of the pearls that testify of the depths of the Red Sea.' Last of all, Claudianus (*De IV Cons. Hon.* 599, 606; *Laus Serenae* 3) brings the list to a close with his poetical reference to 'Erythraean gems' and to the 'fires of

the Red Sea,' and with his interesting statement that the hair of a certain queen 'sparkles with the Red Sea.'

We thus have a chain of contemporary evidence from classical writers, broken in places and slight, perhaps, but nevertheless convincing, testifying to continuous activity at the Persian oyster-beds for some 700 years, from the era of Alexander to the age of Claudianus, while the probabilities are that the fisheries were worked much earlier than the time of Alexander, perhaps by the Phoenicians, and that from the days of Claudianus to the present time the active search for the white gem has still continued.

Some rather interesting facts about the Persian pearls and fisheries are related by various authors. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[54]:106) says that 'the pearls of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf of the Red Sea, are especially praised,' and, comparing them with Indian pearls, he states that those of India are larger, but that the lustre of those from the Red Sea is clearer (9. 35[56]:113). The price of Indian and Arabian pearls, he adds, is second only to that paid for the *adamas*, or diamond (37. 4[16]:62). Aelian (*De Animalibus* 15. 8), quoting Juba, states that the Indian and Persian varieties are far superior to the pearls found elsewhere, and Juba, quoted by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[56]:115), relates that 'the pearl-oyster shell in the case of the Arabian variety is like a toothed comb, and prickly like a sea-urchin,' and that the pearl itself resembles hail. Most curious were the tales current among the ancients concerning the origin of the pearl. Some said it was due to 'lightning flashing in the open bivalve' (cf. Aelian, *De Animalibus* 10. 13); others (*i.e.* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[54]:107; Solinus 54; Ammianus Marcellinus 23. 6. 85) that conception was caused by the morning or evening dew, and that a flash of light or too much heat would cause miscarriage. Tertullian (*De Cult. Fem.* 1. 6) came nearest the truth when he said: 'Although it is a pearl, nevertheless it must be understood that it is nothing but a hard and round wart of the shell.' Philostratus (*Life of Apoll.* 3. 57) submits a most remarkable account of the manner in which pearls were artificially produced, myrrh being forced down the oyster's throat, as it were, as a result of which there exuded from the oyster a white substance which he calls 'ichor,' which solidified and formed a pearl. 'And,' he adds, 'just as is the natural pearl, so is this pearl which consists of white blood from the Red Sea.'

As regards methods of capture of the pearl-oyster, divers are mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[56]:111), Isidorus of Charax (*Deipnos.* 3. 46), and Philostratus (*Life of Apoll.* 3. 57); and nets by Solinus (54) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[55]: 111). Philostratus (*Life of Apoll.* 3. 57) records that before the diving began the sea was oiled to still the waves. Concerning the size of pearls we have the statement of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9. 35[57]:116) that down to his time few pearls had been found that exceeded a half-ounce in weight.

That there was profit in the pearl-business may be inferred from Pliny's complaint (*Hist. Nat.* 12. 18[41]:84): 'From that sea Arabia sends pearls. At the lowest estimate India and the Seres and that peninsula [Arabia] take from our Empire annually 100,000,000 sesterces. So much do our luxury and our women cost us.' And Aelian, a hundred years after Pliny, when speaking of the pearl-trade in the Erythraean, says (*De Animalibus* 10. 13): 'To the dealers in them and to those who buy and sell, the very large and white pearls are the most beautiful and the most costly, and not a few, by Zeus, of those who make their living thus, get rich.'

Thus we see that classical authors, although their geographical references are often not precise, testify to the existence of pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf from a very early time, and furnish considerable interesting information concerning pearls and the pearl-trade.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK,

May, 1907.

Neriosengh's Sanskrit Version of the Avestan Āfrīngān-i Dahmān and Āfrin-i Khšathryān rendered into English

BY

ERVAD MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA, M.A.

By the publication of his critical edition of *Neriosengh's Sanskrit Uebersetzung des Yaçna*, Leipzig, 1861, Dr. Friedrich Spiegel made accessible to scholars the greater part of the work of that learned Dastur, who translated the Zoroastrian scriptures into Sanskrit with added comments. It seems, therefore, appropriate in a volume dedicated to Spiegel's memory to choose a subject connected with Neriosengh as the theme for a special contribution. For this reason, I have selected Neriosengh's Sanskrit version of the *dahamaūānasya āfrangānasya avistāarthaḥ*, and of the *āśīr vādaḥ rājñāṁ*, and I desire here to present a critical translation of the Sanskrit text, accompanying it by a commentary of an exegetical nature.

The present paper forms a part of my contemplated work of translating into English, with critical notes, the entire body of Neriosengh's version — a subject which I have selected at the suggestion of my friend and teacher, Professor Jackson, as a part of my Master of Art's thesis, and I hope to carry the work later to completion as a portion of the requirements for the doctor's degree.

For the materials of my work, I am using Neriosengh's complete text, which is now being edited by Ervad Sheriarji, and published by the trustees of the Parsi Panchayat. To Shams-ul-Uluma Jivanji Modi are due my best thanks for his kindly supplying me from time to time with the printed sheets of this work as they came from the press.

The Phl. version of the *āfringān* appears in Ys. 59. 2. 16 (see Spiegel's edition of the Phl. Yasna). The same text also occurs in the manuscript of the Phl. Khordah Avesta, presented to the library of Columbia University by Dastur Kaikhushru Jamaspji. This latter manuscript has been my only source of reference for the Phl. version of the *āširvād*, as that does not occur in Spiegel's

edition of the Phl. text. I have, furthermore, made occasional use, for reference, of the valuable manuscript S1 of the Sanskrit version of Yasna, now in possession of Professor Jackson, being also a gift of Dastur Kaikhushru to Columbia.

At this stage of my work, I have refrained from dogmatising on many peculiarities of our Iranian-Sanskritist. This is not possible until I have gone through his entire work, or at least a greater part of it. In certain instances, however, if I have attempted to generalise, I have done so only after an exhaustive survey of Neriosengh's usage in every possible occurrence in a particular case.

Just as I completed this paper, the Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat sent on loan for my use at Columbia University some 14 manuscripts of the Pahlavi Khordah Avesta, an edition and translation of which, I hope, later to publish as suggested by Professor Jackson. The codexes arrived, however, too late for incorporating any material from them in the present work.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
May 28th, 1907.

I

Version of the Avestan Afrīngān-i Dahmān from the Sanskrit of Neriosengh.

(Ahunavar two times. Ashem Vohu three times. I proclaim,[1] as already mentioned. Gāh according to the time of day.)

In this house, let there come[2] complete satisfaction, devotion, excellent gifts[3] and recompenses, which belong to the righteous.[4] Furthermore, in this house[5] may there originate[6] religious merit,[7] sovereignty, acquisition, glory,[8] happiness and long supremacy[9] through this religion[10] which is of Ahuramazda and Zarathushtra.[11]

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[1] A rendering of Av. *fravarāne*. Phl. *franāmam*. Ner. employs *prabravīmi*.

[2] Dastur Kaikhushru's Ms. has *pa* [*pavan*] *āfrin*, 'through the benediction.' In transliterating the Phl. words I have followed the method of giving the Pāzand equivalents of the Huzvaresh forms, and of inserting the latter in brackets[]. Cf. Prof. Jackson's article *Some Additional Data on Zoroaster*, in the volume *Orientalische Studien in honor of Professor Nöldeke*, pp. 1031-1038, Strassburg, 1906.

[3] Av. *vyādaiδiš*, from *vy-ādā-*, 'gifts.' The Phl. has *bē* [*barā*] *dahišnīh*, Ner. employs *viśiṣṭadātīh-*.

[4] Av. *aŝavan-*, Phl. *ahravan* is generally rendered into Skt. by *muktātman-*, *muktimān-*, or *puṇyātman*. The word *muktātman*, in Skt. means 'an emancipated soul,' one that has attained to final beatitude and is no longer subject to the bonds of earthly existence. With Ner. it has simply the meaning 'righteous,' although his choice of it may perhaps have been influenced by the Hindu atmosphere of the word. To render Phl. *dravand*, he employs *amuktātmqn*, see West, *Mainyo-i-Khard*, 2·115, Stuttgart, 1871.

[5] Av. *vīs-*, is transcribed into Phl. by *vīs*. Ner. here employs *gṛha-*, which he also uses in this paragraph for Av. *nmāna-*, Phl. *mān*. In Ys. 56·6·4 (Sp.), he uses the transcription *vīsa*, and glosses it by *gṛhatama*. In Ys. 10·17 (Sp.) he has *veśman*. In Ys. 14. 1 (Sp.) he explains *gṛha-* as a dwelling in which there is a yoke of cattle and a couple, man and woman. With more detail he speaks of the communal divisions in Ys. 19·50 (Sp.). A *gṛha-* is represented as having seven couples, men and women. The *vīsa*, according to his statement, has fifteen couples, men and women; and the Av. *Zantu-*, Phl. *Zand*, which he generally transcribes by *janda-*, comprises thirty couples, men and women. The *dahyu-* of the Avesta, and the Phl. *dēh*, which he renders by *grāmā-*, consists of fifty couples of men and women. With this manner of designating size may also be compared the modern custom, so common in Persia and India, of reckoning a village or a town as consisting of so many families or houses.

[6] It is worth noticing that Ner. here uses the verb *samprāpnotu* in the sing. with a plurality of subject following too closely his original text and version, *viz.* Av. *aŝemca Khŝathremca*, etc., Phl. *ahrākīh Khutāīh*, etc.

[7] For Av. *aŝa-*, Phl. *ahrākīh* Ner. always employs *puṇya-* or *dharma-*. These words with him have the sense of the Phl. *karpak*, Pers. *kirfah*, or *sawāb*, as contrasted with their opposites, *viz.*, Skt. *pāpa-*, Phl. *vanās* Pers. *gunāh*. For a further discussion of Ner's use of *puṇya-*, see Hoshangji and Haug, *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary* pp. 53·55 Stuttgart, 1870.

[8] Ner. uses *śrī-*, for Av. *hvaronah-*, Phl. *hvarrah* [*gadman*].

[9] In the original Av. text, *dareghō. fratemathwa-*, there is contained a prayer for the permanence of the faith, but Ner., with his *dirgham prabhutvamca anayā dīnyā*, 'long supremacy *through* the religion,' makes religion the medium through which the coveted blessing is to be attained.

[10] For Av. *daēnā*, Phl. *dēn*, our commentator always employs the transcription *dīni*. Ner. never uses *dharma-* in the sense of religion, which is the more current meaning of the word in the modern Indian dialects. Regarding his use of the word *dharma-*, see note 35. Not finding in Skt. a proper equivalent for rendering Av. *daēnā-*, he resorts to his usual device, in such cases, of transliterating the Avestan word.

[11] Ner. omits the short Phl. commentary which follows this.

Furthermore, from this house, may there not be missing[1] the herd of cattle (that is, may there not perish the herd of quadrupeds). May there not be missing power of the righteous man.[2] May there not be missing the Ahuramazdian Faith.[3]

Hither may there come the highest, productive[4] and more than august Fravashis of the righteous, attended[6] by weal of good fortune[7], broad as the earth, long as the rivers and high as the sun.[8] May there be[9] permanence of the best (who[10] best do the best; to these may there come fully to pass the grace of religious merit in such manner that it becomes proper at all times to praise their goodness). May there be impermanence of the worst (who worst do the worst; to those may there fully

[1] Av. *āsista-*, Phl. *anasinišn*, for which Ner. employs *anaśvara*.

[2] Ner's *naṛasya muktātmanaḥ* in the sing. follows Av. *narš ašaonō* in contrast to the Phl. version which has the plu. *mardānī ahravūn* [*gabrāān*].

[3] Av. *ṭkaēša-*, Phl. has *dēnāīh*, Ner. employs *nyāya-*. This is followed by a short Phl. commentary which Ner. omits.

[4] Av. *šūra-*, Phl. *awzār*, Ner. gives *sādhaka-*.

[5] Ner. always renders the cardinal Av. word *fravaši-*, the Phl. *frawāhar*, by *vṛddhi-*, which in the Skt. language ordinarily means 'growth.' We fail to see why Ner. deviates here from his usual practice of employing transliterations in cases where he does not find precise Skt. equivalents for Av. and Phl. terms, or, where he finds the Phl. version itself employing transcriptions that he desires to follow closely. For instance, he always transcribes Av. *yazata-*, *ameša-spenta-*, *yasna-*, *daēnā-*, *daēva-*, and many others. In the case of the present word he tries to render *fravaši-* literally, evidently deriving it from *vakhš-*, 'to grow,' as Burnouf has shown it in his *Commentaire surle Yaçna*, pp. 270-271. Paris, 1833. It is sometimes the practice of our translator to attach some special meaning of his own to certain words, but in this particular case he does not restrict the use of *vṛddhi-* to rendering Av. *fravaši-*. He very freely uses this word to explain, for instance, Av. *spenta-*, Phl. *awzūnīk*, Ys. 48. 3; or Av. *frād-*, Phl. *frādahišn* Ys. 44. 10; or again Av. *ukhšyāstāt-*, Phl. *vakhšet ēstišnīh*, Mah Yt. (4). 2, (Sheriarji's ed.). It is only in the Dhūp Nīrang, 4-10 (Sheriarji's ed.) and Aogamadaēcā. 15, *vide* Geiger, *Aogamadaēcā ein Pārsentractat in Pāzend, Altbaktrisch und Sanskrit*, Erlangen, 1878, that *vṛddhi-* is glossed by *pitṛbhūtā*, 'spirits of the ancestors, manes.' I think these solitary instances of the use of the Skt. word *pitṛ-* to explain Av. *fravaši-* are later interpolations in the text. For if Ner. saw in Skt. *pitṛ-*, the proper equivalent of Av. *fravaši-*, it is difficult to understand why he should not have used it throughout, especially, since *fravaši-* is one of the commonest words in the Av. literature. Inasmuch as he does not employ Skt. *pitṛ-* to explain Av. *fravaši-*, we may conclude that he was not unmindful of the fact that the Iranian Fravashi covered much more than that which was meant by the Indian Pitr. To avoid ambiguity in my rendering, however, I have preferred to use Fravashi *in my translation* wherever Skt. *vṛddhi-* is not employed in its ordinary sense of 'growth,' but refers to the Fravashi in the Av. and Phl. versions.

[6] Av. *hacimnāo*, pres. mid. ptcpl, is rendered into Phl. by *awāk bawāt* [*khvatman yahvūnāt*]. Ner. employs *samanvitā*, past ptcpl. The Phl. gloss on this is omitted in the Skt. version.

[7] The text here begins a new sentence with *lakṣmiḥ* in nom. To read it thus, we have to supply a verb, as the text has no predicate. I should prefer to suggest removing the pause-bar that occurs before *lakṣmiḥ*, and to read *lakṣmyāḥ* in gen. This would more correctly render both the Av. and Phl. versions, where the Fravashis are invoked to come to the house accompanied by the weal of good fortune.

[8] Ner. omits the Phl. gloss.

[9] Av. *ištee*, this inf. construction of the original is rendered by the benedictive verb both in the Phl. and Skt. versions. The Phl. having *ēstēnītār bavāne* [*homanānd*] in plu., and Ner. *sthitirbhuyāt* in sing.

[10] Throughout this paragraph our commentator drops the Phl. gloss and inserts his own.

come to pass the retribution[1] [powerful condemnation] in such manner that they become fit at all time for condemnation owing to their wickedness). Eminently may there be[2] a manifestation of splendour and glory.

In this house, may Obedience rout[3] Disobedience[4] (that[5] is, may the invisible[6] Yazata, called Sraosha, who has the character of instruction,[7] arrive and smite down the female-demon of Disobedience, who has the character of lack of instruction). May Concord rout Discord (that is, may there be in this house a man[8] disposed to a concordant nature [and] of the assembly[9] in such manner that Concord, of invisible form, may be a guest in this house and smite down the female-demon Discord). May Liberality rout Stinginess (that is, may there be in this house a man disposed to Liberality [a just man,[10] who is a bestower[11] with proper regard to the recipient] in such manner that Liberality, of invisible form, may be a guest in this house and smite down the female-demon, who has the character of stinginess). May High-

[1] The text has *nigrahā vighātāḥ baliṣṭhāḥ . . . samprāpnotu*. Sheriarji suggests changing the verb into a plural. I should rather read *nigrahaḥ* in sing. instead of nigrahā. Our translator always resorts to this word when he wishes to render Phl. *pāʿfrās*, 'requital.' We have, for instance, *nigrahāḥ pāpasya*, 'requital of sin,' as opposed to *prasādaḥ puṇyasya*, 'reward of religious merit,' see Hoshang and West, *Shikand Gūmānik Vijār*, 6. 27. The parallel construction of the two clauses of our text requires *nigrahaḥ* in sing., as the opposite of *puṇyaprasādaḥ*, in the preceding clause. The phrase *vighātāḥ baliṣṭhāḥ* is only a gloss to explain *nigrahaḥ*, and does not interfere with the context.

[2] Both the Phl. and Skt. versions render the inf. of the Avesta by a finite verb.

[3] Ner. employs the active construction of the verb throughout this paragraph, as does the original Avestan, whereas the Phl. version uses the passive. For the general fondness of the Phl. commentators for the use of the passive in later Iranian, see Geiger, *Die passive construction des präteritums transitiver verba in Iranischen*, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, pp. 1-5. Stutgart, 1893.

[4] For Av. *asrušti-* the Phl. version always employs the transcription *asrušt*. Ner. generally transcribes the word by *aśrusti*. Again *aśrotṛ* is used to render Av. *karapan-*, Phl. *karp*, Ys. 46. 11, 48 10. In Yt. 1. 10 (*vide* Sheriarji's edition), Ner. gives an explanatory gloss on *aśrotārah*, as follows: *te ye ahurmajdasya śrṣtim . . . śrotum na śaknuvanti*, 'those who are unable to hear (of) the world of Ahuramazda.' For the general discussion on this see also Darab, *The Avesta interpretation of Sraosha, Asraosha and Asrushti*, in *Cama Memorial Volume* pp. 280-283. Bombay, 1900.

[5] Throughout this paragraph Ner. adds his own commentary, if we may judge from the fact that there is none in Dastur Kaikhushru's Ms. of the Phl. Khordah Avesta.

[6] *Adṛyamūrti-* is Ner's usual rendering of Av. *mainyu-*, Phl. *mēnūk*.

[7] Ner. employs *ādeśalakśaṇa-* as an epithet of Sraosha. In Ys. 17-28 (Sp.) he calls Sraosha *ādeśapati* For Sraosha's Avestan epithet *daēnō. dis-*, occurring in Ys. 56. 10 2 (Sp.) the Phl. employs *dēn namūtārīh*, for which our Skt. translator gives *dinerdarśayitṛ*, 'religious guide.'

[8] Better *puruṣaḥ*, as we find in subsequent glosses.

[9] Ner. employs *hanjamanī*, which is the transcription of Av. *hanjamana-*, Phl. *hanjaman*. I have preferred to take *hanjamanī* as adj. qualifying *puruṣah* of the text. Cf. also note 5‡ on *hanjamanī putrah*.

[10] I suggest taking *satyaḥ pātraparikśaṁ dātā* as an explanatory gloss on *puruṣo dakśiṇāśilaḥ*.

[11] The characteristic of this bestower is thus described in Ys. 46. 17 by a gloss in Skt., *tasmāi dadāti yasmāi yujyate dātum*, 'gives unto him whom it is fit to give.'

mindedness rout Low-mindedness (that is, may there be in this house a man high-minded through the medium of instruction[1] in such manner that High-mindedness, of invisible form, may be a guest in this house, and smite down the female-demon Low-mindedness). May the Truly-spoken Word[2] rout the False-spoken Word (that is, may there be in this house a truth-speaking man in such manner that True Word, of invisible form, may be a guest in this house and smite down the female-demon False Word). May Righteousness[3] rout Deceit (that is, may there arrive the invisible personification of Righteousness, that is, righteousness, and may it smite down the female-demon, who has the character of deceit).

In order that here may come to pass[4] the devotion[5] to the Amsha-

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[1] I have preferred to use the variant *ādeśamadhyena*, given by four manuscripts, instead of *ādeśamadhye* of the text.

[2] Note that here, and throughout the paragraph, our translator personifies the True Word as well as the abstract virtues Concord, Liberality, etc., and their opposites.

[3] Av. *aša-* is rendered into Phl. by *ahrāyīh*, for which the Skt. version employs *śriyaḥ*. Ner. often uses *harma*, where the Phl. version gives *ašavahišt* for Av. *aša-*. Ys. 28. 7, 33. 8, 46. 18. See also Jackson, *Die Iranische Religion*, in *Geiger und Kuhn, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2. 637. Strassburg, 1896-1904. In Ys. 48. 1 we have a passage that is analogous to this; it runs thus, *aša drujəm vaŋhaiti*, 'Asha shall smite the Druj.' The Phl. version presents *ahrāyīh drug vāned*, and glosses *aḥrāyih* by *ašavahišt*. The Skt. rendering for this gives *dharmo drujaṁ vighaṭayati* and glosses *dharma* by *ašavahišta*. The Skt. word *śriyaḥ*, in this case, which stands for Av. *aša* is either nom. and acc. plu., or else gen. and abl. sing. Neither of these forms appear to be appropriate here. I am inclined to think, Ner. does not here use any form of *śrī-* in fem., which he usually employs to render Av. *hvarənah-*, and Phl. *hvarrah*, but that he uses another form of the same term which is *śreyaḥ* in the neuter. This form possibly is misread by the copyist as *śriyaḥ* (*i* for *e*). In support of this suggestion, I would refer to Ys. 7. 64, 40. 6 Sp.), where Av. *ašakhyācā* is rendered into Phl. by *ahrāyīhc*, and into Skt. by *śreyasica*. Note also Ner's glossing this word by *puṇya*.

[4] Av. *paitišān*, 'long for.' Dr. Mills here suggests that the Phl. commentator sees in this Avestan word some form of Av. *paiti*, 'master,' and renders it by *pa* [*pavan*] *dastobar*, see JRAS. p. 66, note 1, London, January 1906. It seems to me more probable that the Av. verb is rendered into the Phl. in the following sentence by *kunānd* [*vabidunānd*], which Mills also allows to be not impossible. By the gloss *pa* [*pavan*] *dastobar*, the commentator simply explains that the sacrifice and obeisance unto the Amshaspands are to be performed through the medium of the dastur. I should quote a similar instance from Khurshed Nyāish 16, where the sacrificer undertakes to invoke Khurshed with the audible Yasna. Dastur Kaikhushru's Phl. Ms. gives there the same gloss *pa* [*pavan*] *dastobar*, which is rendered into Skt. by *gurumukhena*, 'through the mouth of the teacher' (Sheriarji's edition). Note also how the original construction of the Av. changes at each stage in the Phl. and Skt. renderings. The Avestan text has Amshaspands as the subject to the verb *paitišān* in plu. The Phl. version has the subject understood in plu. referring to the people in the house, who are to offer sacrifice and obeisance unto the Amshaspands, whereas in the Skt. version *bhakti* stands as subject to the verb *samprāpnotu* in sing.

[5] There is no Phl. rendering for Av. *ašyādha* in Spiegel's text or in the Bodleian Ms. J2, p. 661, Oxford, 1893. On the other hand, Dastur Kaikhushru's manuscript of the Phl. Khordah Avesta has *tarsākās*, 'devotion,' for which Ner. employs *bhaktiḥ*.

spands[1] on the part of Sraosha (ever new, that is, of Sraosha) (*viz.*,[2] a devotion[3] that is fully capable of performing deeds[4] of religious merit unto all),[5] [that is], the sacrifice[7] and obeisance of the best[6] (of the Yazatas[8] of male form), the sacrifice and obeisance of the best (of the Yazatas of female form), the best offering,[9] the

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[1] Av. *ameša-spenta-*, which is always transcribed into Phl. by *amahraspand*, or *amšospand*, is likewise transcribed into Skt. by *amišāspinta-*, *amišaspita-*, *amišāspanta-*, or often rendered by *amara-guru-*, *amara-gurutara-*, *amara-mahuttara-*. We find in Khurshed Nyāish I (Sheriarji's ed.) the following explanatory gloss, *amišāḥ iti amarāḥ spintāḥ iti gurutarāḥ saptamūrtayaḥ svāminaḥ*, 'amišāḥ means immortals, *spintāḥ* means' the great ones, seven forms of the Lord.'

By the way of supplementing this note I might add that Spiegel's Phl. text and the Bodleian Ms. J. 2, p. 661 Oxford, 1893, add here *yazišn u nyāišn*, depending on the Amshaspands. Dastur Kaikhushru's Ms. of the Phl. Khordah Avesta has also *šnāyēnītārīh*, 'propitiation,' in addition to this. The Skt. version omits these additions entirely.

[2] This gloss does not occur in the Phl. version.

[3] Ervad Sheriarji suggests *bhavanti*, ptcpl. noun fem. nom. for *bhavanti*, 3rd plu. verb of the text. I follow the suggestion and take *bhavantī*, as referring to *bhaktiḥ* of the text. As the text stands, it would mean 'they become fully able,' in which case the implied subject 'they' would refer either to the people in the house or perhaps to the Amshaspands.

[4] That is, the *ijisnīmca namaskṛtīmca* of the text, which in construction depends upon *kartum* of this gloss.

[5] Referring to the Amshaspands or to the male and the female Yazatas, as more definitely described in the glosses that follow.

[6] Av. *vaŋuhiš yasnāsca vahmāsca* in fem. plu. repeated by *vohu yasnəmca vahmemca* in neut. sing. is taken both by the Phl. and Ner. as separate offerings for the male and female Yazatas. Even with this view we should rather expect them to refer to the male and female Amshaspands, for the paragraph speaks of these divine beings and not of the Yazatas. The Phl. text gives *narān* [*zakarīhā*] and glosses it by *yazatān i narān* [*zakarān*] and *nāirīkān* [*vakadīhā*] and glosses it by *yazatān i nāirīkān* [*vakadān*] both in plu. Ner. following the Phl. gives *narākṛtīnāṁ iajdānām* and *strīākṛtīnāṁ iajdānām*. In the *Yeŋhe hātām* formula Av. *tāscā tāoscā* is rendered into Phl. by *hanjamikān narān* [*zakarān*] *u nāirīkān* [*vakadān*] 'assembly of males and females,' and glossed by *amahraspandān* Ys. 27. 7 (Sp.). Ner. has *narastrīākṛtin amišaspintān*, for the same phrase that occurs in Ys. 4·56 (Sp.), and in Khurshed Nyāish. 16 (Sheriarji's ed.). For the general classification of the Avestan male and female Amshaspands see Jackson, *A brief note on the Ameshaspands*, in *Archiv fur religionswissenschaft*, pp. 363-366, Freiburg, 1898.

[7] *Ijisni* is the Skt. transcription generally used by Ner. for the Phl. *yazišn*, Av. *yasna-*. He sometimes renders the word by *ārādhana*, Ys. 51-22, 53·2. In the case of *Av. yasna-haptaŋhāiti*, Ner. employs *iasta* in Ys. 56.9 5 (Sp.) and *iaśna* in Ys. 41.18 (Sp.), for the first element of the compound.

[8] Av. *vohū*, the Phl. *vēh* [*čapīr*], used as adj., qualifies *yasnəmca vahmemca*, whereas Ner. employs *uttamānām* as noun referring to the Amshaspands.

[9] *Bərəti-*, 'offering.' The Phl. version employs *barišnīh*. Ner. renders the same by *čhuti*. In Ys. 61. 1 (Sp.) where we find the three kinds of offerings *hu-bərətimca ušta-bərətimca vaŋha-bərətimca*, which are mentioned in this paragraph, the Phl. commentator explains them by glosses. We miss in that passage, however, the help of Ner's Skt. version, as he has not translated that part of the Yasna. We have, however, his Skt. version for Ātash Nyāish 7.20 where the same words occur, but he does not at that place offer any explanatory gloss. It is to be noted that the corresponding Iranian word for Skt. *āhuti-* is *āzūiti-*, and we should naturally expect our translator to employ *āhuti-* to explain its Av. equivalent, wherever it occurs, which, however, he does not do.

noble offering and the helping offering. May they[1] make these[2] their own[3] for a long time.

Never may the Glory, attended[4] by goodness, abandon this house, (that is, in this house never may the glorious house-lord perish). Never may Fortune[5] attended by goodness [abandon this house], (that is, in this house may Fortune attended by goodness [acquired[6] by virtuous conduct] never perish). [Never may] the well-behaving Son[7] attended by goodness [abandon this house], (that is, in this house may the son adorning the country[8] [and] who is of the assembly never perish).

I dedicate[9] good things. May we be united together with the best fortune for a long time (that is, may we provide[10] good opulence[11] in this world and be united in the next world with the embodiment of fortune[12] for a long time).

<Ashem Vohu three times>.

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[1] That is, the Amshaspands.

[2] Referring to the sacrifice, obeisance and offerings.

[3] Av. *hvā. bairya-*, 'self-possession.' Both the Phl. and Skt. take this word as a verbal form. The Phl. version has *hvaṭ [banafšman] burtār bavēm [yahwunīm]* 'may we ourselves be the bearers.' Ner. gives *svīyāḥ dadhatu*, 'may they make their own.' Ner. following the Av. text, correctly takes Amshaspands as the subject, who are the bearers of the sacrifice, obeisance and the offerings. The Phl. version adds a gloss *ān [zak] mizd*, 'that reward,' and makes the sacrificers its recipients, through the offerings unto the Amshaspands.

[4] Ner. employs past ptcpl. for Av. and Phl. verbal adj. forms.

[5] The Phl. version here reproduces Av. *išt-*, in Avestan characters, and glosses it by *khwāstak*, in Phl. The Skt. version has *lakṣmī-*.

[6] Our translator, in this case, reproduces *śubhānvitā* of the text, and then glosses it by *sadācāropārjitā*, following in this respect the usual practice of the Skt. commentators.

[7] Av. *āsna-* is rendered into Phl. by *āsnūtak*. The Skt. version employs *suśīla-*. In Atash Nyāish 5·13 (Sheriarji's ed.), we have in Skt. *nisargaguṇa*, 'innate virtue.'

[8] The Skt. version has *dvīpamaṇḍano hanjamanī putraḥ*. This phrase is evidently reproduced from a similar Av. phrase occurring in Ys. 61-13 (Sp.) as well as Ātash Nyāish 5-13, where we have in Av. *fraxaintīm karšō-rāzām vyākhanām*, 'a son who is the dictator of duty to the Kesh var, [and] who is of the assembly.' Phl. *fraxand ī kēšvar vīrāe i hanjamanīk*, for which Ner. gives *putraṁ dvipamaṇḍanaṁ samavayikaṁ*. (Sheriarji's ed.)

[9] The text has a pause after *lakṣmyā uttamāyāḥ*. I should suggest removing the pause-bar and placing it after *nivedayāmi*, because *upari lakṣmyā uttamāyāḥ* goes with the following clause *dīrghaṁ kālaṁ samiśrayāmaḥ* as is shown also by the context of the commentary.

[10] *Nivedayāmi* in sing. of the text is glossed by *parikalpyāmaḥ* in plu.

[11] The text has *saṃṛddhi* which Ner. generally employs to render Pāz. *bāhar*, 'allotment, portion.' Aogamadaecā 6.

[12] Ner's usual rendering for Av. *aši-vaŋuhi-*, the Phl. *ašišvang, artišvang* is *arśasavangha, lakṣmī, lkṣmī uttamā* or *arśiśvanghanāmni lakṣmī*.

II

Blessings upon Kings from the Sanskrit of Neriosengh.

I invoke upon the king, the lord of the country, who is of Ahuramazda,[1] the bright and glorious, the blessing of supreme fortitude,[2] supreme victory, supreme sovereignty, responsive attitude[3] on the part of his kingdom,[4] a long life to live and the progress[5] of the form and glory of his body.

I invoke upon him the blessing of well-formed and finely developed fortitude,

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[1] For Av. *Ahura-Mazda-*, Phl. *Ōhrmazd*, our translator Ner. generally employs *Ahurmajda-*, *Ahurmijda-*, or *Hormijda-*. Sometimes he renders this divine title by *svāmin-mahājñānin-*, Ys. 17. 19, 20 (Sp.), 32. 2. For Av. *Ahura-* Phl. *Khvaṯā*, he uses *rājan-*, Ys. 31. 8. In the case of Ahura compounds Ner. always follows the Phl., which regularly resorts to *Ōhrmazd*, to form the compounds, as in the case of Av. *Ahura-ṯkaēša-*, Phl. *Ōhrmazd-dātastān*, Ner *Hormijdanyāyavat*, Ys. 1. 65, 9. 48, 13. 1 (Sp.). Av. *Ahura-dhāta-*, Phl. *Ōhrmazd-dāt*, Ner. *Hormijdadatta*, Ys. 1·19, 17, 31 (Sp.). When Av. *Mazdāh-* stands by itself for God, the Phl. version consistently renders it by *Ōhrmazd*, In such cases Ner. employs either *mahājñānin-*, Ys. 20. 8 (Sp.), 29. 4, 31. 1; or *svāmin-*, Ys. 48. 10-11, 53. 2; or more frequently *Hormijda-*, Ys. 9. 81, 13. 19, 19. 23, 31, 34, 41. 23 (Sp.), and others. Sometimes Ner. uses even the Pāzand form *dādār* Ys. 56. 1.2 (Sp.). On the other hand, for Av. *dātar-*, Phl. *dātār*, of which *dādār* is the Pāzandised form, he employs the correct Sanskrit form *dātṛ-*, Ys. 44. 7. When both the Phl. and Ner. read in the word *Mazdāh-* some other meaning than that of divinity, they translate the term literally. Compare, for example, Ys. 10. 10, 40. 1 (Sp.), where the Phl. version renders Av. *Mazdāh-*, by *masih*, 'great,' and Ner. by *mahatta*, 'great.' Furthermore, see Ys. 53. 3, where the Phl. has *dānākīh*, 'wisdom,' and Ner. *jñāna*, 'knowledge,' for Av. *Mazdāh-*. In Ys. 5. 6 (Sp.) the Phl. renders Av. *Mazdāh-*, by *dānākīh*, Ner. employs *mahājñāna*. In the case of compounds formed by *Mazdāh-*, the Phl. always renders the first element by the double form *Ōhrmazd*, with the sole exception of Av. *Mazda-yasna-*, which is transcribed singly by *Mazdayasn*, for which also Ner. has *Majdaiasna*. in Ys. 1. 65, 8. 6, 13. 1 (Sp.). Ner., on the other hand, usually renders the first element of the *Mazdāh* compounds singly by *Majda*, except in the Av. compound *Mazdō-frasāsta-*, Phl. *Ōhrmazd frāc āmōkht*, in which collocation he renders the phrase by a double form, having *Hormijdena śikṣāpitāḥ*, Ys. 1. 33, 2. 43 (Sp.). For Av. *Mazdāokhta-*, the Phl. has *Ōhrmazd guft*, Ner. uses *Majdokta*, Ys. 19. 44 (Sp.). The Av. compound *Mazda-dhāta-* is rendered into Phl by *Ōhrmazd-dāt*, for which Ner. employs *Majdadatta*, Ys. 1, 15, 39, 41-42; 2. 22, 49, 54, 57; 17. 21; 41. 24 (Sp.) and *svāmidatta*, in Sirozā 29 (Sheriaji's ed.).

[2] Both the Av. and Phl. versions employ the dat. construction, while Ner. uses acc. throughout.

[3] For Av. *paiti. asti-*, the Phl. has *patirīšn ēstīšnīh*, Ner. renders it by *pratikārin-sthiti-*. The verb *pratikṛ* in Skt. means 'to requite, to retaliate,' but with our translator it has the meaning 'to accept.' *Cf.* for instance Yt. 1. 18, 19, Āfrīngān-i Gāhānbār, 7 (Sheriarji's ed.).

[4] Phl. omits the word.

[5] Av. *drvatāt-*, 'wholesomeness, health.' Phl. has *drust rawīšnīh*, 'proper development.' Ner. employs *rūpaśripravṛtti-*. In Ys. 56. 10. 8 (Sp.) he renders the same word by *supāṭavaṁ pravṛttiṁca*, 'good health and growth.'

victory given by Ahuramazda (Bahram[1] Yazata), the removal[2] of misfortune with superior progress[3] and complete watchfulness[4] of the evil-doers, warding off of the evil-minded, immediate[5] removal of the adversaries, of the inimical, and of oppressors.

I invoke a blessing upon him for the removal of misfortune. May he by fighting be[6] the remover of the entire inimical group that causes distress,[7] the entire wicked group that causes distress; [may he be the remover of] the vicious thinker, the vicious speaker and the vicious doer.

May he be the remover[8] [of misfortune] through his virtuous thought,[9] virtuous word, and virtuous deed. May he be the smiter of all wicked-minded men, of all daeva-worshippers.[10] May he be[11] worthy of the best grace,[12] of the best

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[1] Ner. transcribes the Phl. gloss *Varhrān Yazat*, by *Bahirām Iajda*. In Ys. 17. 31 (Sp.) he explains it by *vijayapati-*, 'lord of victory.'

[2] Av. *vanaintimca*. Phl. *vānītārīh*, Ner. has *aśubhṭālanāṁ*. Our translator always renders Av. *van-* 'to smite', by some form of *ṭāla*. Burnouf was the first to point out that the latter was not a Skt. word, but belonged to some Indian dialect, as noted in his *Commentarie sur le Yaçna*, p. 283, Paris, 1833. This was followed by Spiegel, cf. *Neriosengh's Sanskrit-Uebersetzung des Yaçna*, (Leipzig, 1861) Ys. 1. 19 note 19, 9. 68 note 8. Furthermore, the word is not to be confounded with Skt. *tal-*, 'to be confused.' Ner. evidently borrows this particular word from Gujarātī. The word is current in Indian dialects today and familiar to any one who speaks them, e. g., Gujarāti *ṭāḷvū*, Marāṭhī *ṭaḷaṇē*, Urdu *tālnā*, 'to avert, remove.' In his use of this word Ner. changes the *ḷ* occurring in Guj. and Mar. to *l* as there is no *ḷ* in latter Skt.

[3] Acc. sing. in Av. Both Phl. and Skt. employ the instrumental.

[4] Av. *pouru-spaklši-*, Phl. has *purpāspānīh ī tan*, which Ner. renders by *saṁpūrṇaprahaṛaka-*. In Ys. 56. 10. 9 Sp.) this is rendered by *saṁpūrṇapāśavānatā-*. This is a curious combination of the Skt. word *saṁpūrṇa-*, and some hybrid form of Phl. *pāspān*, Pers. *pāsbān*, to which again the abstract termination *tā* of Skt. is attached. See also Spiegel's note 9 on this in his Skt. text.

[5] Av. *hathrā*, Phl. *pa* [*pavan*] *akvīn*, Ner. employs *ekahelayā*.

[6] Av. *buye*, inf., Phl. has *bavēt* [*yahvūnet*], Ner. uses *bhuyāt*, optative.

[7] Lit. 'the entire distress-causing inimical-group.'

[8] Ner. adds *ṭālako bhuyāt*, for which both Av. and Phl. have no renderings.

[9] Lit. 'rightly conducted thought.'

[10] Av. *daēva-yasna-*, the Phl. has *dēv yast*, Ner. *deuisna*. It is only in this passage that Ner. transcribes Av. *daēva-*, by *deu*; he otherwise employs *deva-*, as a rule, whether the term occurs alone or in composition; *e.g.*, Av. *daēvō. dāta-*, Phl. *dēvān* [*šēdāān*] *dāt*. Skt. *devadatta-*, Ys. 9·18, 17. 46 and others (Sp.); Av. *daēvo. cithra-*, Phl. *dēv* [*šēda*] *cihr*, Skt. *devarūpin-*, (see Hoshang and West, *Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār* 10. 75 Bombay, 1887); Av. *daēvō. zušta-*, Phl. *dēvān* [*šēdāān*] *dōšit*, Skt. *devamitratva-*, Ys. 32. 4; Av. *daēvavant-*, Phl. *dēv* [*šēdā*] *ayāwār*, Skt. *devasahāya-*, Ys. 13·16: Av. *vī-daēva-*, Phl. *javit-dēv* [*šēdā*], Skt. *vibhinnadeva-*, Ys. 1·40. 65, 2. 51, 9. 43, 13·1, or Phl. *bē hac aēv* [*barā min šēdā*], Skt. *ṛte deva-*, Ys. 13. 14-16 (Sp.). In Ys. 56. 10·7 (Sp.) we have in Skt. *anācārin-* instead of *deva-*.

[11] Av. *zaze buye*, inf.; the Phl. has *arjanīk bavānē* [*yahvūnim*]. The Skt. version gives *yogyo bhuyāt*. In Ātash Nyāish, 17 (Sheriarji's Skt. text), where this sentence occurs, the Skt. rendering for the same is *yogyo bhavāmi*.

[12] According to the Phl. gloss, 'in the next world.'

renown,[1] and of the long good possession[2] of the soul.

I invoke upon him the blessing of a long life and a good life for the help of righteous men for the restraint[3] of those who do evil deeds. Furthermore, I invoke upon him the blessing of the ever shining all-good abode[4] of the righteous. So may he attain [it] as I bless.

From[5] the giving of good thoughts, good words and good deeds in this world, and from the bestowing [of them] in the next world (that is, there is good from them in this world, and through them in the next world) both of those that have been performed (up to the present time) and of those that will be performed (hereafter) I become,[7] above all, the holder[8] [*i.e.*] the provider[9] for [lit. of] man to man

[1] According to Phl.' good name and fame in this world.' Ner. does not add any gloss here, but in Ātash Nyāish he gives the following gloss *prasādaḥ paralokiyaḥ śrutiśca ihalokiya*, 'grace pertaining to the next world and renown pertaining to this world.'

[2] Av. *hava⁰ŋhā-*, 'joy.' Phl. has *huahvih*, 'good existence.' Ner. employs *suṣvāmitā-*. In the Phl. rendering of a similar Av. phrase *hava⁰ŋhai urvne*, 'for the joy of the soul,' we have *hukhāvandīh ī ruvān*, 'good ownership of the soul.' Ys. 67·10 (Sp.). It seems our translator had before him a Phl. manuscript that gave him *hukhāvandīh*, which he correctly renders by *suṣvāmitā-*.

[3] Av. *āzah-*, 'affliction,' the Phl. version gives *tangih*, 'adversity,' and glosses it by *bē* [*barā*] *zatārih*, 'for destruction.' Ner. employs *nāstikatā-*. The word *nāstika-* in Skt. means 'an atheist,' who does not believe in the divinity of human soul. Ner. never uses it in this sense. He employs the same word for Phl. *niyāzišnō* 'destitution.' See Hoshang and West, *Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār*, 3·22, Bombay, 1887.

[4] Av. *vahišta-ahū*, Phl. *pahlum akhvān*, Ner. employs *atuhpara bhuvana-*, 'the existence hereafter, paradise.' In Ys. 9·04, 19. 10 (Sp.), 44. 23, the same is rendered by *utkṛṣṭatara bhuvana-*, 'the best existence, paradise.' In some cases where Av. *vahišta-*, Phl. *pahlum* is not followed by 'āhu,' referring to the next world or paradise, but occurs in conjunction with other words, in its ordinary meaning 'best,' Ner. still renders it by *atahpara bhuvana*. For instance, Ys. 50. 1, Av. *vahišta* mazhā, Phl. *pahlum miniśnih*, 'best mind,' is rendered into Skt. by *atahpara bhuvana manas-*, 'mind pertaining to the world hereafter.' In Ys. 53. 1, for Av. *vahišt̰išti-*, Phl. *pahlum khvahišno*, 'best desire,' we have *atahpara bhuvana samīhā-*, 'desire pertaining to the world hereafter.'

[5] This paragraph occurs in Ys. 35. 4-6 (Sp.).

[6] Av. *yadacā anyadacā*, 'here and elsewhere, in this and the next world.' The Phl. has *ēdarc ī* [*litamman*] *dahišn . . . . . ān ī* [*zak zakīt*] *dahišn*, 'this world . . . the next world.' Ner. gives *ihalokadāteśca paralokadāteśca*. The latter element *dā* of Av. *yadā-*, *kadā-*, and *hadā-*, is generally rendered into Phl. by *dahišn*, see Daver, *The Pahlavi version of Yasna IX*, introd. p. 8, Leipzig, 1904. Ner. generally follows the Phl. and renders the word by *dāti-* or *dāna-*. For Av. *yadā-*, rendered in this manner, see Ys. 30· 8, 31· 4. For *kadā-*, see Ys. 46· 3, 48· 11. In Ys. 48·10, however, Ner. has *ka lā ayaṁ kālaḥ*, 'when [is] that time,' though the Phl. has, as usual, *ka ān* [*amat zak*] *dahišn*. Av. *hadā-*.. is rendered in like manner by *saha dāti-*. Ys. 46. 17.

[7] For Av. *mahi* in the plur. both the Phl. and Skt. renderings employ sing., *e.g.* Phl. *hēm* [*homanam*], Skt. *bhavāmi*.

[8] Av. *aibi-jaretar-*, 'praiser.' Both the Phl. and Skt. derive the verbal element of this noun of agency from *gar-*, 'to hold.' The Phl. version offers *awar* [*madam*] *griftār*, for which Ner. employs *adhikaṁ gṛhītā-*. This is due to their not distinguishing between the roots *gar-*, 'to hold,' and *jar-*, 'to praise.' In the present case some modified form of *gar-* is read in *jaretar-*. In Ys. 12·2 (Sp.) for Av. *aibi-gairyā-*, the Phl. has *bē girišnīh* [*barā vakhduniśnīh*], and the Skt. version employs *adhikaṁ gṛhaṇaṁ*.

[9] Av. *naēnaēstar-*, 'ardent aspirer.' Both the Phl. and Skt. versions attempt to render the word literally. They read in the first element *naēnaē-* some forms of *nara-*, or *nṛ-*. Spiegel notices this in his *Commentar über das*

(religious merit which comes by the way of good conduct) so[1] that I become a man most excellent (that is, and this [is] in such manner that I make the most excellent my own). (What[2] is the meaning? Of the good thoughts, good words and good deeds, which have been performed both upto the present time and will be performed hereafter, both whatever of those is good in this world and whatever of them is good in the next world, [all] this I hold).

"Finally,[3] having recited the Ahunavar, the four regions[4] are struck[5] with the ingredient." The quotation with *iti*[6] *hanyate iti* is used for the reason that[7] the will[8] of Ahuramazda pervades even the divisions of the four regions; likewise towards the beginning of night whatsoever falls on the earth, by that two

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Avesta, 2. 296.-297, Wien, 1864. The Phl. has *mart ō mart* [*gabrā ō gabrā*]. Sheriarji's Skt. text gives *narasya nare*. So also Darmesteter, see his *Etudes Iraniennes*, 2. 330. Paris, 1883. This is a better reading than those given in Spiegel's Skt. text, *cf.* Ys. 35-6, and Bartholomae's *Air. wb*, p. 1036, both of which have *narasya nara*. It is to be noted that in the reading *narasya nare*, if we take *nare* as a dat. as the Phl. has done, we then have in this a form taken from the radical stem *nṛ-*, 'man,' whereas the first form *narasya*, is from the *a* stem *nara-*, 'man.' Otherwise we must take *nare* as a loc. from *nara-*. The valuable manuscript S1, of Dastur Kaikhushru, now at Columbia University, has *narasya nari*. In this case also *nari* would be loc. from *nṛ-*. That Ner. takes this as a loc. from *nara-*, and consistently uses the forms of *nara-* in both words, and not of *nara-* in one case and *nṛ-* in the other, is shown from a similar gloss in Ys. 13.-25 (Sp.), where he has *nareṣu uttamanaro bhavāmi*. For the latter element *star*, the Phl. version gives *apaspārtar*, equivalent to Pers. *sepārdan* or *sepurdan*, 'to entrust.' Ner. employs *saṁpādayitā-*.

[1] Av. *yathanā vohunām mahi*, Phl. *cegon vēh hēm* [*šapīr homanam*], Ner. has *yathā uttamo nā bhavāmi*. This phrase, as Sheriarji notes, is omitted in all manuscripts except in Spiegel's Skt. text; but I find it likewise in Dastur Kaikhushru's manuscript S1. Darmesteter has *uttamo bhavāmi*, see his *Etudes Iraniennes*, 1·320, Paris, 1 883. The Avestan word *yathanā-*, 'as,' occurs frequently, and is correctly rendered both in the Phl. and by Ner., see Ys. 13. 17 19.27 (Sp.). 31.22, 43.10. In Ys. 20·2 (Sp.), where Av. *yatha-* and *nā-* occur as two distinct words, they are correctly rendered into Phl. by *kē mart* [*mašīn gabrā*] and into Skt. by *yo. nā*. In our passage, it seems that Ner. took the word as analogous to the one cited above, divided it into *yatha* and *nā*, though the Phl does not do so. Or can it be that Ner. in this case renders Av. *yathanā-* by Skt. *yathā-*, as he does in Ys. 31. 22, but having some Av. manuscript before him, which gave *vohu nā*, instead of *vohunām*, he translates it by *uttamo nā*? We are not prepared at the moment to decide.

[2] From this point Ner. gives his own commentary as there is no Phl. commentary.

[3] This paragraph is Ner's own, as it is neither in Av. nor in Phl. Neither the grammatical construction nor the sense is, in all respects, clear, and we might be entitled perhaps to look upon the paragraph as an addition by a later hand.

[4] *catvāro dišaḥ*. The grammar (masc. adj. and fem. noun) is apparently incorrect, better were *catasras* to agree with *diś*. Throughout the paragraph different forms of *catvār* in masc. are used, and the passage seems to be late as well as corrupt.

[5] *hanyate*. Better *hanyante*, as *dišaḥ* is in plural.

[6] The first *iti* includes the words *paścāt* . . . . *dišaḥ hanyate* (?) in quotation, the second *iti* is apparently employed to pick up the whole thought again as implied in *hanyate*.

[7] The text has *yat yattaḥ*. I have not rendered *yattaḥ* 'exerted,' which might go with *Ahurmajdīyoabhilāṣaḥ*. The word *yattıḥ* does not occur in two manuscripts. The parallel construction of the following sentence also omits it.

[8] *abhilāṣaṁ*, better *abhilāṣaḥ*.

tanāfurs[1] of sin originate, this is dissolved (?). "Finally having recited the Ashem Vohu the four regions are struck with religious merit." The quotation owing to the reason that even in the divisions of the four regions He causes the religious merit to spread).

(Ahunavar two times. Sacrifice and obeisance and so forth as already mentioned).

[1] Ner. has *tanvalaya* equivalent to Av. *tanu.pərəθa-*, Phl. *tanāpuhr*. For Ner's definition of this sin, see his Paititi 3. 5 (Sheriarji's ed.).

Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avestan

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, M.A.

The following monograph is the outcome of my studies in the Indo-Iranian Department at Columbia University, where in my Avestan reading I was struck by the peculiar attitude, which the holy scriptures of the lofty religion of Zarathushtra take towards the creatures of Ahura-Mazda on one side and Angra-Mainyu on the other.[1] Not only does this ancient faith uphold the conventional religious distinction, made between righteous and wicked men, but, as is well known, it goes so far as to make even verbal distinctions between the actions and qualities of Ormazdians and Ahrimanians, be they men or animals, and to use separate linguistic expressions in such cases. These expressions occur mostly in pairs and in parallel passages, and in a few instances only is an antonym wanting for any particular word.

This special phenomenon, to be sure, is not confined to Avestan only. It has its parallels in Hebrew and in other ancient tongues, but it is by no means so fully carried out there. It appears also in modern languages, where the distinction is drawn between men and animals. This fact has suggested to the writer the idea that possibly in Avestan also the distinction was not primarily due to religious influences, but was caused originally by a desire to distinguish between man and animal, and that it received in course of time a religious colouring. This opinion received direct substantiation through a series of etymological and semantic investigations, aimed at the reconstruction of the original meaning of the words under discussion. Even if some may not agree as to the value of semasiological reconstructions, it has seemed to the writer, at all events, worth while to group all the Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words together, and to present the results of his researches into their etymology and meaning.

[1] See for example Jackson, *Die Iranische Religion*, in *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.* v. 2, p. 628, note 2. (Strassburg, 1896-1904.)

After a careful examination of the Avestan vocabulary, 36 polar words of the character referred to have been found. These embrace 13 nominal and 23 verbal expressions which show this special distinction. Ten of these 13 verbs occur in pairs, while 15 of the 23 nouns show antonyms. In discussing these lists of words, it will be found convenient to begin with the verbal expressions.

VERBS.

1. *gam-*, *ay-*, 'to go,' of Ormazdians.
   dvar-, 'to go, run,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt.[1] *gácchati* 'he goes'—Mp. *āmadan* 'to come, arrive'—Arm. *gnal* 'to come'—Gk. βαίνω, βάσκω 'I come'—Lat. *veniō* 'I go'—Goth. *qiman* 'to come'—O. Icel. *koma* 'to come'—AS. *cuman* 'to go, come'—prim. Idg. **gᵘem-*, 'to go, come.'

Cp. Skt. *éti* 'he goes'—O. Bulg.[2] *idą*, *iti* 'to go'—Lith. *eimì* 'I come'—Gk. εἶμι 'I go'—Lat. *eō* 'I go'—O. Ir. *ethaim* 'I go.' The same stem appears in O. Bulg. *jadą* 'I ride'—Lith. *jóti* 'to ride'—Goth. *iddja* 'he went'—prim. Idg. **eią-*, 'to go.'

Cp. Skt. *dràvati* 'he runs, hastens.' The word occurs in Indo-Iranian only. Fick[3] compares here Gk. ἐρώσκω, τορεῖν 'to leap, spring.' Lat. *fraus* 'deceit, fraud,' and reconstructs the primitive Indo-Iranian form as *×dhvar-*,[4] 'to hasten, jump, leap,' which however is not probable. The explanation of Uhlenbeck is a much better one. According to him[5] the primitive Indo-Germanic root was **dreu-*, and occurred likewise as **drem*, in Skt. *drámati* 'he runs.'—Gk. δρόμος 'a running, course.'

The original meaning was therefore 'to run, hasten, leap.' The distinction is evident. The primitive Indo-German, who shared with all primitive races a deep and extensive faculty of observation, distinguished the slow, quiet, and dignified step of men from the restless running or hastening of animals and contrasted them in the parallel *gam-*, *dvar-*.

[1] Skt. = Sanskrit; Mp. = Modern Persian; Arm. = Armenian; Gk. = Greek; Goth. = Gothic; O. Icel. = Old Icelandic; AS. = Anglo-Saxon; Idg. = Indo-Germanic; a star (*) indicates the reconstructed Indo-Germanic form.

[2] O. Bulg. = Old Bulgarian; Lith. = Lithuanian.

[3] Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen*, 4 ed. p. 247. (Göttingen 1890.)

[4] A cross (×) indicates the reconstructed Indo-Iranian form. Dots (. . . .) indicate omissions in a citation.

[5] Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache*, p. 132. (Amsterdam, 1898.)

These parallels occur in Avestan frequently. A few instances will suffice:

ᵊāca nō j a m y ā ṯ *avaᵊhe vərəthrajāə sraošōᵊašyō.* Ys.[1] 57. 3.

.. *yō vīspaēibyō haca arəzaēibyō vavaᵊvāə paiti* . j a s a iṯ i . . . Ys. 57. 12.

.. *frā ahmāṯ parō vīspe daēva anusō taršta* . . d v a r ə n t i . Ys. 57. 18.

.. *yō mąm aēvō* j a m a y e i t i *yō spitāmō zarathuštrō* . . Yt. 17. 20.

yehe ząthaēca vakhšaēca a p a . d v a r a ṯ *aᵊrō mainyuš* . . Yt. 17. 19.

. . *nīsta daēva aēša vō* d v a r a i t i *būšyąsta darəghō. gava* . . Vd.[2] 18. 16, 24.

. . *yaṯārō paurvō usəhištaiti* p a r ā i t i[3] *vahištahę aᵊhəuš* . . Vd. 18, 26.

Besides these parallels there are many passages in which the euphemistic expression for 'to go' is used with a wicked being. These apparent inconsistencies might indicate that the religious distinction between the actions of good and wicked creatures was coined artificially; for only thus can we explain passages like:

.. *pərəsmanāng* u p a . j a s a ṯ *hyaṯ vərənātā* a c i š t ə m m a n ō. Ys. 30. 6.

or again:

nišlaṯ paiti d r u k h š *nāšaite yadhāṯ aiwiciṯ* j a g h m a ṯ . . Yt. 19. 12.

and

yaṯ paoirīm d a ē v a y a s n ō *kərənṯāṯ apa hō* j a s a ṯ . . Vd. P. 39.

If this differentiation were really inherent in the language, it would have been carried through systematically. This is especially shown by the fact that in no case is *dvar-* used with a good creature.

2. *fra . car-*, 'to go, walk,' of Ormazdians.
pat-, 'to go, rush,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *cárati* 'he moves.'—Mp. *carīdan* 'to graze, pasture.'

Skt. *cakrá* 'wheel.'—Av.[4] *cakhra-* 'wheel.'—O. Bulg. *kolo* 'wheel'—Lith. *kelỹs* 'way'—Gk. πέλομαι 'I move'—Lat. *colō* 'I till, inhabit'—AS. *hwēol* 'wheel.' The prim. Idg. **q^{u}el-*, seemed to have meant 'to turn around,' for otherwise we could not explain the fact that some groups of languages contain this word in the meaning 'to turn,' and others 'to go, move, walk.'

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[1] YS = Yasna; Yt. = Yasht. The edition, from which the passages are quoted, is: Geldner, *Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, 3 vol. (Stuttgart, 1886.)

[2] Vd. = Vendīdād.

[3] 3rd sing. ind. praes. from *para . ay-*, 'to go.'

[4] Av. = Avestan.

Cp. Skt. *pátati* 'he flies, falls' (*pāta* 'a fall')—Gk. *πέτομαι* 'I fly'—Lat. *petō* 'I rush, attack'—O. Ir. *én* 'bird.' The prim. Idg. **pet-* must have meant 'to rush, fall.'

Avestan uses the same word to express the 'falling' of water (Yt. 5. 8, 47) and the 'flying' of birds (Vd. 5. 12, 13).

It is easy to see that the primitive Indo-German expresses in this parallelism the difference between the 'walking' of men and the rapid and sudden 'hurrying' of animals.

Parallel passages are quite frequent.

pança . dasa fra.carōithe *pita puthrasca .. yavata khšayōiṭ hvąthwō yimō ..* Ys. 9. 5.

tūm zəmargūzō akərənavō vīspe daēva zarathuštra yōi para ahmāṭ vīrō . raodha apatayən... Ys. 9. 15.

and such passages as

bādha vairīm ācaraiti *aspō . kəhrpąm ašaonīm ..* Yt. 8. 8.

.. yō pairikāə titārayeiti yāə stārō kərəmāə patąnti .. Yt. 8. 8.

There are a few interesting inconsistencies in connection with this parallelism. The root *car-* is used twice with animals:

yaṭ me aēšąmciṭ nmānanąmca caratō *dva mā .. spā pasuš . haurvō yasca* spā viš haurvō. Vd. 13. 49.

təm ithra fra.carəṇta pasvasca staorāca *mašyāca.* Vd. 2. 11.

These inconsistencies can easily be explained. In the first case the 'walking' pertains to a shepherd-dog and to a house-dog, both of which are good creatures; in the second case the flocks and herds mentioned are creatures of Yima.

3. *tak-*, 'to go, walk,' of Ormazdians.
zbar-, 'to go, walk crooked,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *tákti* 'he hastens, dashes.'—O. Bulg. *teką* 'I run.'—Lith. *tekù* 'I run'—O. Ir. *techim* 'I fly.'—Goth. *thius* 'servant.'—AS. *theow* 'servant.' (orig. 'a runner')—prim. Idg. **teq-*, 'to run, flow.'

Cp. Skt. *hvárati, hválati* 'he goes crooked, astray.'—O. Bulg. *zŭlu* 'bad.'—Lith. *pažulno* 'declivous, sloping.'—**zhvar* 'to bend, crook.' The original meaning of the Idg. root must have been 'to bend, go, to run crooked.'

If we take the original meaning of these two words into consideration, we understand at once that the distinction goes back to men and animals.

There is only one passage in Avestan where *tak-* and *zbar-* occur in parallels:

. . *ā taṯ hᵛarənō frazgadhata taṯ hᵛarənō* a p a . t a c a ṯ . . Yt., 19. 56.

yō janaṯ arəzo.šamanəm . . jirəm z b a r ə m n ə m . . Yt. 19. 42.

In a few instances is *tak-* applied to the 'flowing' of water (Yt. 6. 2; 13. 10, 14, 54, 78; 14. 54). One inconsistency is to be found in Yt. 10. 20, where *tak-* is used with a wicked creature:

yōi mithro . drująm vazyąstra bavainti t a c i ŋ t ō. . . .

(For an explanation of this inconsistency, see p. 283.)

4. *para.raēth-*, 'to die,' of Ormazdians.

ava.mar-, 'to die,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Goth. *°leithan* 'to go.'—O. Icel. *lídha* 'to go.'

The word unfortunately occurs only in a few Idg. dialects, for which reason it is hard to restore the original meaning of it. It is, however, probable that it meant 'to go away' and was used like Lat. *abire* as a euphemistic expression for 'death.'[1] (Cp. also English 'to pass away.')

For *mar-*, cp. Skt. *márate* 'he dies.'—Arm. *meɫanim* 'I die.'—O. Bulg. *mĭrą* 'I die.'—Lith. *miřti* 'to die.'—Gk. *βροτός* 'mortal.'—Lat. *morior* 'I die.'—O. Ir. *marb* 'death.'—Goth. *maúrthr* 'murder.'—O. Icel. *mordh* 'murder.'—AS. *mordhor* 'murder.'

The Idg. **mer-*, 'to die,' has been connected by Curtius and Vaňicek[2] with **merāxq-*, 'to injure, fade, wither, rot' (cp. Lat. *marceō* 'I fade.'—O. Icel. *merja* 'to bruise, crush.'—German *morsch* 'decaying, rotten.')

There can be no doubt that the differentiation between *raēth-* and *mar-* is an artificial one, since otherwise we should not have expressions like Av. *amaršant* 'undying'—Gk. *ἀμβροσία, ἄμβροτος* 'immortal,' etc.

The Avestan distinction of these two words is rather similar to that made between German '*sterben*' and '*krepieren*,' French '*mourir*' and '*crever*,' Polish '*umierać*' and '*zdechnąć*' or Hebrew (colloquially) '*mēth*' and '*pĕgĕr*.' *mar-* and

[1] Bartholomæ, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1481 (Strassburg, 1904).

[2] Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 394 (Heidelberg, 1906).

raēθ- occur consistently in opposition to each other, if they are combined with *ava* and *para* respectively, *e.g.*

yaṯ ašava p a r a . i r i t h y e i t i *kva aētąm* . . Yt. 22. 1.[1]

yaṯ' drvāə̄ a v a . m a i r y e i t e *kva aētąm* . . Yt. 22. 19.

. . *adim aokhta pərəsō pourvō . ašava* p a r a . i r i t h y ō . . Yt. 22. 19.

. . *adim aokhta pərəsō pourvō . drvō* a v a . m ə r ə t ō . . Yt. 22. 34.

In all other cases the opposition ceases, and we find expressions like *amaršant* 'undying', *amərəkhtiš* 'immortality', or we find *mar* applied to frogs (Vd. 5. 36), which is very natural, since *mar-* never had a contemptuous meaning. In the same way do we find the use of *raēθ-*, with animals, especially dogs. (Vd. 5. 39; 8. 1; 13. 50).

5. *hᵛar-*, 'to eat,' of Ormazdians.
gah-, 'to eat, devour,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *khvurdan* 'to eat.'

Cp. Skt. *ghásati* 'he devours.'

I cannot go into a lengthy discussion of these words, as they appear in Indo, Iranian only. There can, however, be no doubt that the distinction is a natural one and goes back to that made between men and animals. It finds its parallels in German '*essen*' and '*fressen*' or Slavic '*jesć*' and '*zreć.*'

The only parallel passage is contained in Vd. 7.

. . *aēta yōi daēva aētašva ḍakhmaēšva* g a ŋ h ə ŋ ṯ i . . Vd. 7, 55.

. . . *yatha aētahmi aŋhvō yūžəm yōi mašyāka* h ᵛ a r e t h a . . Vd. 7, 55.

Two passages use *hᵛar-* where we ought to have expected *gah-*:

mā mē aētayāə̄ zaothrayāə̄ fra ŋ h a r e ŋ ṯ u h a r e t ō m a t a f t ō. Yt. 5. 92.

nōiṯ avāə̄ zaothraə̄ . . *māvōya* fra ŋ h a r ə ŋ ṯ i a ṇ d ā ə̄ s c a . . Yt. 5. 93.

In one passage a nominal derivative of *hᵛar-* is applied to both good and wicked creatures.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō* h u m a n a ŋ h ō . . h ᵛ a r ə θ ə m *pasca para . iristīm* . . Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō* d u š m a n a ŋ h ō h ᵛ a r e θ ə m *pasta ava . mərəitim.* Yt. 22. 36.

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[1] The text edition used for Yt. 22 is: Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, Vol. I. pp. 296ff. (Copenhagen, 1852-54).

Here again, as in other previous cases, do these inconsistencies reflect upon the weakness and conventionality of the religious differentiation. Barring these passages, the parallel, *hᵛar-* and *gah-*, prevails consistently throughout the holy books. The root *hᵛar-*, to be sure, is applied to birds and dogs (Vd. 2. 26; 5. 8, 14, 40; 13. 28, 45, etc.), but it must be remembered that these animals are creatures of Spenta-Mainyu.

6. *mrav-*, *vaš-*, 'to speak,' of Ormazdians.
dav-, 'to speak, howl.' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Ṣkt. *brávīti* 'he speaks.'—O. Ir. *frith-bruth* 'negation.'—Goth. *brūths* 'bride.'—AS. *bryd* 'bride.'—prim. Idg.* *mrū-*, 'to speak.'

Cp. Skt. *vákti* 'he speaks'—Gk. εἰπεῖν 'to say.'—Lat. *vocāre* 'to call.' O. Ir. *faig* 'he said.'—OHG.[1] *giwahan* 'to remark, tell.'—prim. Idg. **ueq-*, 'to speak, say.'

The etymology of *dav-* is unknown. Bartholomae[2] mentions a Ṣarikoli word *war-dhauan* and translates it 'I am talking in my sleep.' Horn[3] connects it with Phl.[4] *davastan* 'to howl.'

The fact that the word occurs only in one dialect does not allow us to restore the etymological meaning of it. It is highly probable, however, that the distinction was a natural one, as in English 'to speak' and 'to howl,' or in German between *reden*' and '*brummen*,' or '*brüllen*.' The parallel passages of *mrav-* and *dav-* are too numerous to mention them fully. A few instances will suffice:

. . *amāica thwā vərəthraghnāica māvōya* u p a . m r u y e . . Ys. 9. 27.
haomō təmciṯ yim kərəsānīm . . *yō* d a v a t a. Ys. 9. 24.
m r a o ṯ *ahurō mazdāə spitamāi zarathuštrāi*. Yt. 3. 1.
a d a v a t a *aᵛərō*. *mainyuš pouru*. *mahrkō*. Yt. 3. 14.
adhāṯ uiti f r a . v a š a t a *yō spitāmō zarathuštrō*. Yt. 17. 18.
yehe ẓaṯhaēca vakhšaēca apa. *dvarat aᵛərō*. *mainyuš* . . *uiti* d a v a t a. Yt. 17. 19.
. . *uiti* m r a o ṯ *ahurō mazdāə āi*. *ašāum*. . . Vd. 18.1, etc.
āaṯ hē hā p a i t i . d a v a ṯ a *yā daēvi drukhš*. Vd. 18. 36, etc.

[1] OHG. = Old High German.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 688.
[3] Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 272. 66 (Strassburg, 1893).
[4] Phl. = Pahlavi.

7. *fra . thwarəs-*, 'to create,' of Ormazdians.

fra . karət-, 'to create,' of Ahrimanians.

thwarəs- occurs in Avestan only.

For *karət-*, cp. Skt- *kṛntáti* 'he cuts.'—Lith. *kertù* 'I cut, split.'—Gk. κραίνω 'I cut.,—Lat. *creāre* 'to create.' The basis for these words is the augmented prim. Idg.* *ker-*, 'to make.'

There does not seem to be any essential difference in the meaning of these two words. Both ultimately mean 'to shape, cut, create.' The distinction appears to be merely conventional. The makers of the Avestan holy books have become so used to the linguistic law of polarity that in cases where they did not have the distinct use of words relating to men or animals, they simply created such distinctions in an artificial way. The parallel occurs but once:

paoirīm asaᵒəhąmca . . . f r a . t h w ə r ə s ə m *azəm yō ahurō mazdāə*
Vd. 1. 2, 4, 6.

āaţ ahe paityārəm f r a . k ə r ə ņ t a ţ *aᵒrō, mainyuš pouru. mahrkō.*
Vd. 1. 2, 4, 6.

That there was originally no essential difference in the meaning of both words is best proven by the following passage:—

. . *uṣvā hē gaošəm* t h w ə r ə s a i t i *apa vā hẽ paidhyąm kereņtaiti,*
Vd. 13. 10.

The idea of apposition is applied to *thwares-* and *karət-* if they are combined with the preposition *fra.* In all other cases the words are used arbitrarily, as in Yt. 14. 62, where *karət-* is applied to Verethraghna, which is very natural. since *karətn-*ever had a contemptuous meaning.

8. *zan-*, 'to give birth,' of Ormazdians.

hav-, 'to give birth,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *jánati* 'he bears.'—Arm. *tsnanim* 'I give birth.'—O. Bulg. *zętĭ* 'son-in-law.'—Gk . γίγνομαι 'I am born.'—Lat. *gignō* 'I bear.'—O. Ir. *ro génar* 'I was born.'—Goth. *kunni* 'race.'—AS. *cennan* 'to bear.'—prim. Idg. **ĝnē-*, **ĝnō-*, ** ĝn-*, 'to bear, give birth.' related to ** ĝnō-*, 'to know.'[1]

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[1] Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, 2nd ed. p. 97. (Amsterdam, 1900.)

Cp. Skt. *sūte* 'he bears, he is born.'—O. Bulg. *synŭ* 'son.'—Lith. *sunus* 'son.'—Gk. *ὑιός* 'son.'—O. Ir. *suth* 'birth.'—Goth. *sunus* 'son'—O. Icel. *sonr* 'son'—prim. Idg. * *sŭ*, to bear, give birth.'

The distinction between *zan-* and *hav-* seems to be another case of arbitrary and artificial use of words. The original meaning of both words is undoubtedly the same, and there is nothing to justify the euphemistic idea attributed in Avestan to *zan-*, or the contemptuous meaning applied to *hav-*. The distinction seems to be similar to that made between German '*gebären*' and '*junge werfen*.'

A parallel passage containing both words in their respective meanings could not be found. The radical *hav-*, however, is used constantly of Ahrimanians; while *zan-* is applied twice to animals:—

bawaini vastrāə vaŋhata arədvī sūra anāhita thri.satanąm b a w r a n ą m c a t u r e ẓ ī z a n a t ą m . . Yt. 5. 129.

yaṯ bā paiti fraēštəm u s . z ī z ə n t i p a s v a s c a s t a o r ā c a. Vd. 3. 5.

The use here is natural, since we deal in both these latter cases with animals of the Good Spirit. There is, however, one inconsistency in connection with *zan-*. The word is applied in Ys. 11, 6. to righteous and wicked creatures.

nōiṯ ahmi nmāne z ā n ā i t e ā t h r a v a *naēdha rathaēštāə naēdha vāstryō fṣuyąs. āaṯ ahmi nmāne* z a y ā ə ṇ t e d a h a k ā c a m u r a k ā c a . .

That certain distinctions are artificial and conventional is proved beyond doubt by the next two sets of words, which do not justify any sort of differentiation whatsoever. Both occur in Yt. 22 and are used in parallel lines.

9. *bav-*, 'to be,' of Ormazdians. cp. Skt. *babhúvā* 'he was.'
   ah-, 'to be,' of Ahrimanians. cp. Skt. *ásti* 'he is.'
   . . *kaṯha ṯe darəghem ušta* a b a v a ṯ. Yt. 22. 16.
   . . *katha te darəghem āvōya* a ŋ h a ṯ. Yt. 22. 34.

10. *ni. ḥad-*, 'to sit down,' of Ormazdians. cp. Skt, *niṣad-* 'to sit,
    han. dvar-, 'to run, go,' of Ahrimanians. cp. Skt. *drávati* 'he runs';
    asne vaghdhanāṯ n i š . h i d h a i t i. Yt. 22. 2.
    asne kamərədhāṯ h a n . d v a r a i t i. Yt. 22. 20.

The first case needs no explanation. In the second case a word 'to sit' is used

in the meaning 'to go' and contrasted with a word 'to run.' A better example of artificial distinction could not possibly be given.

In the preceding cases we dealt with verbal expressions of distinction which occurred in parallels. There are, however, three verbs which do not possess antonyms. These three verbs are:

11. *ţbaēš-*, *dvaēš-*, 'to attack, offend.'

The word is used of Ahrimanians only.

Cp. Skt. *dvēṣṭi* 'he hates.'—Gk. δείδω 'I fear'; δειλός 'fearful, craven, vile.'—O. Ir. *doél* 'terror, black spider'—prim. Idg. * *duei-* 'to fear.'

The word is clear and need not be commented upon.

12. *marək-*, 'to kill, destroy.'

The word is used only in cases in which a Mazdayasnian is killed.

Cp. Skt. *marcáyati* 'he endangers, injures.'—O. Bulg. *markotny* 'uneasy'—Lat. *marceō* 'I fade.'—O. Ir. *brén* 'rotten,' related to **merā^{x}q*, 'to injure.'

The root seems to have been used in the meaning 'to injure,' and, as applied in this case, the leading idea appears to be that a Mazdayasnian is 'injured' rather than 'killed.'

13. *raod-*, 'to lament, howl,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *róditi* 'he cries, yells, howls.'—O. Bulg. *rydati* 'to wail, cry,'—Lat. *rudo* 'I howl.'—AS. *reotan* 'to cry, wail.' The prim. Idg. **reud*, 'to cry, wail, howl,' is an augmentation of the root **reu-*, 'to roar, bellow' (cp. Skt. *ruváti* 'he roars'—O. Bulg. *revą* 'I roar.'—Lat. *raucus* 'hoarse.'—AS. *rym* 'roar'—O. Icel. *romr*, 'noise').

This word is a clear and indisputable evidence for the suggestion, which the writer of this paper has proposed. Aside from the fact that the etymology points clearly to the original use of this word in connection with animals only, it shows also the way in which a word, applied primarily to animals, has been connected in the course of time with wicked creatures; for *raod-* is used in Gatha-Avestan in connection with animals only and not until a later period in Younger-Avestan, was it applied to Ahrimanians.

NOUNS.

1. *vaghdhana-*, 'head,' of Ormazdians.
   kamərədha-, 'head,' of Ahrimanians.

The etymology of *vaghdhana-* is obscure. The attempt to connect it with **ueq-*, 'to speak,' has proved unsuccessful.

kamərədha- is composed of two separate words. *ka* = interrogative particle + *mərədha.*

Cp. Skt. *mūrdhàn*, 'forehead, summit, head.'—AS. *molda*, 'head.'—Gk. βλωθρος 'high,' and Skt. *bradhnas-* in *çatabradhnas-*, 'having a hundred metal points'[1] (Rgv. 8. 66. 7).

The etymology of the word does not tend to show its despicable character. This, however, is proved by its nature as a compound. Pāṇini[2] mentions a rule that whenever a word is to be used in a contemptuous meaning, the interrogative *kim*, *ka* is prefixed to it; e. g., *kim rājā* 'what sort of a king, a bad king,' and in the same way *ka mərədha*, 'what sort of a head, a bad head.'

It is therefore easy to see that this expression must have been primarily applied to animals only.

The parallel occurs only once:—

asne vaghdhanāṯ *niš.hidhaiti uštavaitīm gāthąm.* Yt. 22. 2.

asne kamərədhāṯ *han . dvaraiti kiṁąm gāthwyąm.* Yt. 22. 20.

The use of these words, however, is carried through consistently.

2. *zasta-*, 'hand,' of Ormazdians.

gav-, 'hand,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *hásta-* 'hand, trunk.'—Mp, *dast* 'hand.'—Lith. *paząstis* 'achselhöhle.'—Gk. ἀγοστός 'palm.'

Cp. Lith. *gáuti* 'to get.'—Gk. ἐγ-γυαίζω 'I hand in.'—Lat. *vola* 'hand.'—**g*$^{\smile}_{\frown}$*ou-*, **g*$^{u}_{\frown}$*u-*, 'hand,' according to Fick.[3] Justi,[4] however, connects *gav-*, 'hand,' with Av. *gav-*, 'to walk, hasten.' Cp. Skt. *jávate* 'he hastens'—Mp. *zūd* 'swift, quick.'

In regard to the etymology of *gav-*, 'hand', the suggestion of Justi, just quoted seems to be reasonable, and in that case the distinction is clearly a natural one, and goes back to the differentiation made between men and animals. Thus *gav-*

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[1] Uhlenbeck, *op. cit.* p. 228f.

[2] *Pāṇini's Grammatik herausgegeben* von O. Böhtlingk 2. 1. 64, p. 50 (Leipzig, 1887).

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 407f.

[4] Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 104 (Leipzig, 1864).

would mean 'the goer, walker', fig. 'hand', and it is unnecessary for me to say that only animals walk on their hands.

The parallel passages, in which these two words occur, are:—

āaṯ yaṯ miθrō fravazaite avi haēnayā . . apąš g a v ō *darəzayeiti.* Yt. 10. 48.

vazrəm z a s t a y a *dražəmnō satafštānəm satō. darəm.* Yt. 10. 96.

. . *adha ātarš* z a s t a *paiti* apa. *gəurvayaṯ frakhšni.* . Yt. 19. 48.

. . *adha ažiš* g a v a *paiti* apa. *gəurvayaṯ frakhšni.* . Yt. 19. 50.

In the other non-parallel passages the distinction above mentioned prevails.

3. *manaoθrī-*, 'neck,' of Ormazdians.

grīvā-, 'neck,' of Ahrimanians.

The etymology of *manaoθrī-* is unexplained.

For *grīvā-*, cp. Skt. *grīvā-*, 'neck of a mountain.' Mp. *girībān* 'collar.' Kurdic *grīvān* 'upper part, neck of a shirt.' Paštu *girēvāṅ* 'collar, cape of garment.' Arm. *grapan* 'pocket.'[1]

Uhlenbeck[2] connects *grīvā-*, with Skt. *girāti* 'he devours' Av. *gar*, 'to devour' Arm. *ker* 'food'. O. Bulg. *žĭrą* 'I devour,' *grŭlo* 'throat' Lith. *geriù* 'I trink' Gk. βορά 'food, meat', Lat. *vorāre* 'to devour' OHG. *querdar* 'lure.'

This etymology has not been objected to, and *grīvā-*, therefore, means orignally 'devourer, glutton,' fig. 'throat, neck,' applied to animals, in opposition to *manaoθrī-* which seems to have been a euphemistic word for 'neck.'

Parallel passages are wanting. Both words, however, are applied consistently to righteous and wicked creatures respectively.

4. *dōiθra-*, 'eye' of Ormazdians.

aš-, 'eye' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *dīdheti* 'he sees, thinks'—Mp. *dīdan* 'to see'—Albanian *ditur* *ditme* 'wisdom, knowledge'—O. Bulg. *divo* 'wounder'—Gk. θεάομαι 'I see'—Goth. *filu-deisei* 'cunningness'—prim. Idg. **dheią-*, **dhi-*, 'to see, perceive.'

Cp. Skt. *akṣi* 'eye'—Arm. *akn* 'eye'—O. Bulg. *oko* 'eye'—Lith. *akìs* 'eye'—Gk. ὀφθαλμός, ὄκταλλος 'eye,' ὄψομαι 'I see'—Lat. *oculus* 'eye'—prim. Idg. **ok-*, **oq^{u}-*, **oks-*, 'to see.'

[1] Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 1st part, p. 132, No. 153 (Leipzig, 1897).

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 80-84.

The distinction is merely a conventional one, since the etymology of both words does not show any inherent difference in meaning that would warrant the differentiation made in Avestan.

Parallel passages could not be found, but the use of both words is consistent. It is interesting to note that *dōithra-* is often combined with *dužˇ*, used in the sense of 'evil eye' and applied to the Daēvas (Yt. 3. 8, 11, 15), just as *aš-* is strengthened by the prefix *agha* (Vd. 20. 37). This fact again proves the artificiality of the distinction, for if *aš-* had really a despicable meaning, the strengthening of its contemptuousness by means of prefixing *agha* would be unnecessary in this particular case.

5. *uš-*, 'ear,' of Ormazdians.
karəna-, 'ear,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *hósh* 'intellect, mind'—Arm. *uš-* 'sense' (loan-word)—O. Bulg. *umĭ*; Polish *rozum* 'sense.'—Skt. *'ávati* 'he observes'—prim. Idg. **aue-*, 'to mind.'

Cp. Skt. *kárṇa-*, 'ear.' Justi[1] and Uhlenbeck[2] connect with this the Skt. *kṛṇáti* 'he splits'—O. Ir. *scaraim* 'I cut'—prim. Idg. **kar-*, 'to split.'

The original meaning of *karəna-* would therefore be 'a slit, cleft, orifice.'

In this connection we have to deal here with another case of artificial distinction, which is shown especially by the only parallel passage in which these two words occur:—

taţ drvatō drvatyāəsca a š i u š i k a r ə n a *gava dvarəthra* . . Yt. 11. 2

and by the arbitrary use of *uš-* in all other passages. We find *uš-* used with Ahura-Mazda (Yt. 1. 31), Mazdayasnians (Vr.[3] 15. 1), righteous men (Ys. 62. 4), Daēvayasnians (Yt. 14. 56), wicked creatures (Ys. 9. 28), enemies (Yt. 1. 28), etc.

6. *uruthwar-*, 'belly,' of Ormazdians.
maršu-, 'belly, paunch, gut,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *rodā* 'gut, bow string'—Bāluci *rōdh* 'intestines.'

The etymology of *maršu-* is not clear. The Skt. translation of this passage uses the word *duṣṭodara-*, 'wretched belly.'

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[1] Justi, *op. cit.* p. 80.
[2] Uhlenbeck, *op. cit.* p. 46.
[3] Vr. = Vispered.

Since neither of these two words occurs in other Idg. dialects, it is impossible to restore their original meaning. It is probable, however, that the distinction was artificial.

7. *āh-*, 'mouth,' of Ormazdians.

zafar-, 'mouth,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *ās* 'mouth'—Younger Av. *āāŋhan-*, 'mouth'—Lith. *ůsta* 'mouth muzzle, aperture'—Gk. *ὄα* 'edge'—Lat. *ōs* 'mouth, opening'—AS. *ōr* 'edge'—prim. Idg. **ǭs*, 'mouth, slit'?

Cp. Skt. *jámbhas-* 'tooth, jaw'—O. Bulg. *zǫbĭ* 'tooth'—Gk. *γόμφος* 'tooth'—O. Ir *gop* 'mouth'—AS. *comb* 'comb'—O. Icel. *kambr* 'comb'—German *kiefer* 'jaw'—prim. Idg. **ǧombhos* 'jaw.'

The distinction as to mouth and jaw is a natural one, and need not be commented upon. Cp. English 'mouth' and 'jaw,' German '*mund*' and '*maul*' or '*rachen*' and Polish '*usta*' and '*gęba.*' In each of these cases the first expression is applied to men and the second to animals.

8. *zanga-*, 'ankle,' of Ormazdians.

zangra-, 'ankle,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *jaṅghā-*, 'lower part of leg'—Vedic Skt. *jaṃhas*, 'step'—Lith. *žengiù* 'I walk'—Goth. *gaggan* 'to go'—prim. Idg.* *ǧhengh-*, 'to move, walk, go.'

The precise etymology of *zangra-* cannot be explained.

We have here before us a striking case of the coining of a word in an artificial way. There is no doubt that the stem of both words is the same, and that the *r* in *zangra-* has been infixed apparently in order to express the idea of contempt. While there is no evidence in Avestan to show that an *r* could express the idea of contempt, analogous cases in other languages might prove the case. Thus Judae-German inserts a *k* if the idea of contempt or scorn is to be expressed; e. g., *furen-furken*, 'to ride.' Sometimes the initial consonant is dropped and replaced by *shm* (colloquially); e. g., *held-shmeld*, 'hero,' etc. In German a particular sound (consonant) is strongly accentuated to convey the special idea that is intended. We find analogies for this peculiar phenomenon even in some of the American-Indian languages. In Takelma (spoken in South-West Oregon) a *sh* is prefixed to each word that coyote (the great trickster of North American mythology) utters, e. g.,

kadi naga'-it 'what did you say,' but *shkadi shnaga'-it*, 'what did you say' if coyote speaks.[1]

There is no passage in which *zanga-* and *zangra-* occur as parallels. The word *zangra-* is used in composition with *bi-*, or *cathwarə-*, and in such cases it is always contrasted with *paiti . štāna-*. For parallels see below.

9. *nāirikā-*, 'woman,' of Ormazdians.
jahikā-, 'woman,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *narā́*, 'man'—Gk. *ἀνήρ* 'man'—Umbrian *nerus* 'viros'—O. Ir. *nertaim*, 'I make strong'—prim. Idg. * *nē(r)-* 'man.'

Cp. Av. *jahī-*, prostitute.' In the Middle-Persian writings *jēh* is the demon of menstruation.[2] Bartholomae[3] connects *jahī-* with Skt. *hasrā-* 'paramour.' The Skt. translation of this passage uses *vēsyā-* 'prostitute' or *paradārā-* 'another's wife.'

There can be no doubt that the distinction is a natural one, although it cannot go back to men and animals. The term *nāiri-*, 'woman,' is contrasted with *jahī-*, 'prostitute.'

The parallel passages occur quite frequently:

. . *taṯ* n ā i r i k a y ā i *frāyō. humatayāi* . . *h^{a}erathəm pasca para . iristīm.*
Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ* j a h i k a y ā i *frāyō. dušmatayāi h^{v}arəthəm pasca ava . . mərəitīm.*
Yt. 22. 36.

sraoša ašya huraodha hō bā mē aētašąm aršnąm tūiryō yaṯ nā j a h i k a *pasca* . .
Vd. 18. 54.

. . n ā i r i k ą m *citḥrawaitīm dakhštvaitīm vohumavaitīm baodhō vīdhvāə* . .
Vd. 18. 67.

10. *para . iristay-*, 'death,' of Ormazdians.
ava . mərətay-, 'death,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *paṛa . raēth-*, 'to die, pass away,' etc.

Cp. Av. *ava . mar-*, 'to die.' For a further discussion of these two words see p. 285f.

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[1] For this last example I am indebted to my friend Mr. E. Sapir, a student of Anthropology at Columbia University.

[2] Justi, *op. cit.* p. 116.

[3] *Op. cit.* 606.

The parallel passage is found in Yt. 22.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō humaṇho . . hᵛarəthəm pasca* para . iriṧtīm. Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō dušmanaṇho . . hᵛarəthəm pasca* ava . mərəitīm. Yt. 22. 36.

11. *puthra-*, 'son, child, of Ormazdians.
hunav-, 'son, offspring, of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *putrá-*, 'son'—Mp. *pusar, pisar* 'son, boy'—O. Bulg. *pŭtą* 'bird'—Lith. *putytis*, 'young bird'—Gk. *παῖς* 'boy'—Lat. *putus* 'boy'—prim. Idg **pouto-*, **puto-*, 'offspring'.

Cp. Skt. *sūnúṣ-*, 'son'—O. Bulg. *syn* 'son,' etc., from prim. Idg. **sŭ-* 'to give birth.'

There is no reason to believe, that **puto-* had a euphemistic idea, just as it cannot be understood why *hunav-* should be used in a contemptuous sense. The distinction is rather a conventional and artificial one, as in German between '*kind*' (of men) and '*junges*' (of animals) or Slavic '*dziecko*' and '*mlode*.'

The words occur in many parallel passages:

tąm yazata vīsō puthrō *āthwyānōiš vīso sūrayāə thraētaoṇō*. Yt. 5. 33.

. . *dazdi mē . . yaṯ bavāni aiwi . vanayāə aurvō* hunavō *vaēskaya*. Yt. 5. 54.

. . *tadha* hunavō *gouru zaothranąm yata paithyāəṇte fra . vərəsa*. Yt. 10. 113.

. . *satāyuš aṇtarə pitarə* puthrəmca . . *asti mithrō*. Yt. 10. 117.

yō janat hunavō *yaṯ pathanaya nava* hunavasca *nivikahe* hunavasca *dāštayanōiš*. Yt. 19. 41.

yaṯ asvaṯ-ərətō frakhštāite . . vīspa taurvayāə puthrō. Yt. 19. 92.

12. *bi . (cathwarə) štāna-*, 'two- (four) legged,' of Ormazdians.
bi . (cathware) zangra-, 'two- (four) legged,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *paiti. stā-* 'to stand'—Skt. *sthā-* 'to stand'—O. Bulg. *statĭ* 'to stand'—Gk. *ἱστάναι* 'to stand'—Lat. *stāre* 'to stand'—Goth. *standan* 'to stand, etc.

The designation *zangra-* has been discussed previously. See p. 294f.

yō ašava zarathuštrō ratuš . . barəšnuš bi. patistānayaə. Yt. 10. 41.

avatha astvaṯ . ərətō . . paitišāṯ paitištātəe bi. zeŋrō *cithrayāədrujō.* Yt. 10. 129.

13. *han . jamana-*, 'assembly' of Ormazdians.
han . dvarəna-, 'assembly' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *anjuman* 'company, assembly' from **gu̯em-*, 'to go.'

Cp. Av. *dvar-*, 'to run, hasten,' etc.

The distinction goes back clearly to the difference made between designations for men and animals. See also pp. 282ff.

A parallel passage is found in Yt. 11.

yasca zarathuštra imaṯ ukhdhəm vacō fraocācāt . . vā ašaonąm haṇ . jamanāiš. Yt. 11. 4.

yasca . . drvatąm vā daēvayasnąm han . dvaranāiš. Yt. 11. 4.

Besides the sets of nominal expressions discussed above we find likewise sporadic nouns that are used in connection with Ormazdians or Ahrimanians only. They are:

14. *zbaratha-*, 'foot, leg,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *zbar-*, 'to go crooked,' etc. See p. 284.

The original meaning would therefore be 'a crooked leg.' The Ormazdian antonym would be *pad-*, 'foot.'

15. *gərədha-*, 'house' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *gṛhá-*, 'room, house'—Goth. *gards* 'house'—O. Icel. *gardhr* 'house' ×*gṛdhás* 'dwelling place.'

The etymology does not show why the word had in Avestan a despicable meaning. It is opposed in one passage to *nmāna-*, 'house' of Ormazdians.

yaṯ bā paiti nā ašava nmānem *uzdasta āthravaṯ . .* Vd. 3. 2.

. . yaṯ ahmya daēva haŋdvarəŋti drujō haca gərədhāta. Vd. 3. 7.

16. *aošta-*, 'upper lip' of Ahrimanians. (Dual: 'both lips.')

Justi[1] translates this word by 'loin' on account of the Phl. *rān.* (We are dealing in Phl. with an abnormal growth of hair, which was an Ahrimanian sign.) This translation seems to be incorrect.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

Cp. Skt. *ōṣṭhá-*, 'lip'—O. Bulg. *usta* 'mouth'—Lat. *ausculum* 'mouth' from Skt. *ās*—Gk. ἄα etc.—**ōs-*, 'mouth.'

The exclusive application of *aošta-* to Ahrimanians seems to be a case of artificial use of words.

17. *ā-tar-*, 'attacker, oppressor,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *tar-*, 'to defeat, overcome'—Skt. *tar-*, 'to cross, overcome.'

Fick[1] compares likewise O. Bulg. *terą* 'to rub, grind'—Lith. *trinù* 'I rub, scratch'—Gk. τορεῖν 'to pierce' and reconstructs the prim. Idg. form as **ter-*, to press through.'

The use of the word is very natural and requires no comment.

18. *carāiti-*, 'young woman,' of Ormazdians.

Cp. Skt. *carati-*, *ciriṇṭi-*, 'a young girl,' [2] and Ṣarikoli *čor* [3] 'young boy' The etymology of the word is unknown.

19. *haēna-*, 'army, host' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *hāy-*, 'to bind, bind loose'—Skt. *sēnā-* 'army,' *syáti* 'he binds'—O. Bulg. *sĭlo* 'rope,' *sětĭ* 'net'—AS. *sāl* 'rope'—O. Icel. *seil* 'rope'—**sāi-* **sei-*, 'to knot, bind'.

The meaning is clear. Cp. German '*schaar*' and '*rotte.*'

20. *haotā-*, 'race,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *hav-* 'to give birth'—Skt. *sūte* 'he bears,' etc. (See p. 288f.)

21. *daoithrī-*, 'speech,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *dav-* 'to speak, howl,' see also p. 287f.

The last two parallels that will be discussed here, will show clearly that a differentiation between the qualities of a good and wicked being could be coined in an artificial way in cases where the linguistic material did not distinguish between men and animals. These words are:

22. *baoday-*, 'odor,' of Ormazdians.

gantay-, 'bad smell, stench,' of Ahrimaṇians.

Cp. Skt. *bódhi-*, 'perfect knowledge' from *bódhati* 'he perceives'—Mp. *boy*, *būy* 'odor, perfume'—Lith. *baudziù* 'I punish, reproach'—O. Bulg.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59, 60.

[2] Fick, *op. cit.* p. 184.

[3] Bartholomae, *op. cit.* p. 581.

bljudą 'I observe'—Gk. πυνθάνομαι πεύθομαι 'I search, ask, hear'—. . O. Ir. *buide* 'approval'—Goth. *biudan* 'to announce, command'—AS. *bēodan* 'to announce, offer'—prim. Idg. **bheudh-* 'to perceive, notice.'

Cp. Skt. *gandhá,* odor—Mp. *gand* 'bad smell, stink.' The etymology of the word is obscure.

Both these words meant originally 'to observe, perceive,' figuratively 'to smell.' The etymology does not justify drawing any distinction between them whatsoever. In Avestan the words are applied both to Ormazdians and Ahrimanians, and it is natural that such a differentiation should be made.

For parallels cp. the following passage:

. . *yō narš ašaonō urva urvarāhuca paiti* b a o i d h i š c a . . Yt. 22. 7.

. . *yō narš drvatō urva aēithāhuca paiti* g a i n t ī š c a . . Yt. 22. 25.

The other illustration referred to is:

23. *āfrītay-*, 'blessing,' of Ormazdians.
āfrīta-, 'curse,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *āfrī*, 'to wish in good or bad sense'—Skt. *prīṇāti* 'he rejoices'—O. Bulg. *prijatĭ* 'to love'—O. Ir. *rïar* 'desire, wish'—Goth. *frijōn* 'to love—AS. *frēond* 'friend'—prim. Idg. **prī* 'to rejoice, love, wish joy, favour.'

Here again we have a case of artificial application of meanings. A word with originally one meaning has been used in a double sense, according to whom it referred. The original meaning 'to enjoy, love, favour' has been split into 'blessing' for Ormazdians and 'curse' for Ahrimanians.

We have thus seen that most of the reconstructed meanings of the words discussed above show their original application to men or animals only. In cases where the original meaning could not be reconstructed, the distinction was apparently created in an artificial way, which is especially brought out by parallels like *ah- bav-*, *zaŋga- zangra-*, *baodhay- gantay-*, etc. On the face of such evidence the writer deems it, therefore, safe to assume that the religious distinction between the actions of good and wicked creatures in Avestan is artificial and was based upon the original desire to distinguish between men and animals.

List of words discussed in this paper.

(The numbers refer to the sections).

VERBS.

ah- 9.
ay- 1.
bav- 9.
car-.fra 2.
dav- 6.
dvar- 1
gah- 5.
gam- 1.
had.ni 10.
hav- 8.
h^{v}ar- 5.
karət-.fra 7
mar-.ava 4.
marek- 12.
mrav- 6.
pat- 2.
raēth-.para 4.
raod- 13.
tak- 3.
ṭbaēš- 11.
thwərəs-.fra 7.
vaš- 6.
zan- 8.
zbar- 3.

NOUNS.

aošta- 16
aš- 4.
āfrītay- 23.
āh- 7.
ā-tar- 17.
baoday- 22.
carāiti- 18.
daoithrī- 21.
dōithra- 4.
dvarəna-.haṇ 13.
gantay- 22.
gav- 2.
gərədha- 15.
grīvā- 3.
jahikā- 9.
jamana-.haṇ 13.
kamərədha- 1.
karəna- 5.
manaōthrī- 3.
maršu- 9.
mərətay-.ava 10.
nairikā- 9.
paitištāna-.bi ,- cathwarə 12.
puthra- 11.
uruthwar- 6.
uš- 5.
vaghdhana- 1.
zafar- 7.

haēna- 19.
haotā- 20.
ẖunav- 11.
irista-.para 10.
zanga- 8.
zangra- . *θi-,cathwarə* 8.12.
zasta- 2.
žbaratha- 14.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
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Nouveaux Quatrains de Bâbâ Ṭâhir ʿUryân

PAR

M. Cl. HUART, Consul de France, Premier Secrétaire-interprète du Gouvernement, Professeur à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes.

Depuis ma publication et ma traduction des *Quatrains de Bâbâ Ṭâhir ʿUryân*, en pehlevi-musulman, dans le Journal Asiatique de 1886, ceux-ci ont eu l'honneur d'une édition de luxe anglaise, sous le titre de *The Lament of Bābā Ṭūhir*, London 1902, dans laquelle le texte persan a été édité, annoté et traduit par M. Edward Heron-Allen, et rendu en vers par Mᵉˡˡᵉ Elizabeth Curtis Brenton. Elle ne contient que trois quatrains de plus que mon texte, les Nos. 15, 34 et 56, qui sont en pur persan, non en dialecte, et qui sont probablement des interpolations. Il en est de même de la publication, avec traduction, faite par Mirza Mehdy Khan (Syed Ali Bilgramfi est une faute d'impression) dans le *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1904, t. LXXIII, p. 1-29. Je publie aujourd'hui de nouveaux quatrains du même auteur, dont le texte provient de trois sources différentes:

1° Une copie faite par moi-même sur un manuscrit qui était lui-même, m'a-t-on dit, extrait du *Kechkoûl el-Foqarâ*, manuscrit de la bibliothèque de la mosquée Moḥammèdiyyé [Fâtiḥ] à Constantinople, catalogué sous le No. 4026 (p. 230 du catalogue imprimé, qui ne porte que l'indication suivante : un volume persan en *taʿliq* à 21 lignes par page) ; je n'ai pas eu ce dernier ms. sous les yeux. Le texte qui en est extrait forme les Nos. I-XII et le ghazèl No. XXIX des nouveaux quatrains ;

2° Les quatrains de Bâbâ Tâhir publiés en appendice au divan de Maghrébî lithographié à Téhéran en 1300 hégire par le chéïkh ʿAbd-al-Wahhâb, imprimerie de Habib-ollâh. En outre des Nos. XIII-XIX ci-joint, ce texte contient encore des variantes plus ou moins considérables des Nos. XLII, XLI, XXIV et XLVII de ma précédente publication, plus une variante du No. III ci-dessous ;

3° Les quatrains Nos. XX-XXVIII sont extraits d'un *djong* ou album ayant appartenu à Mirzâ Habîb Içfahânî, qui est passé entre les mains d'inconnus lors de

la vente aux enchères de sa bibliothèque, après décès ; ce *djong* contenait aussi des variantes des Nos. XLII, XXVII, LVII de ma précédente publication ainsi qu'une variante du No. I ci-dessous.

Depuis 1886, les travaux de M. A. Querry sur les dialectes de Semnân et de Nâyîn, de M. Joukovsky sur ceux des environs de Kâchân, de M. Edward G. Browne sur ceux de Chirâz, de Rèï et de Behbehân, de Prym et Albert Socin sur le Kurde de Ṭoûr-'Abdîn et du Bohtân, de M. Hugo Makas et de M. Oscar Mann sur le Kurde Kurmândjî et Mouḳrî, les vocabulaires de divers dialectes publiés par M. J. de Morgan dans le t. V de la *Mission scientifique en Perse*, mes propres recherches sur les dialectes de Sîwènd et de Chirâz, enfin les magistrales études de M. Geiger dans le *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* de Geiger et Kuhn (t. I, 2e partie, 3e livr.) où les dialectes de la Caspienne et du centre de l'Iran sont pour la première fois classés méthodiquement, permettent aujourd'hui de préciser, plus que je ne pouvais le faire alors, la langue dans laquelle sont écrits les Quatrains de Bâbâ Ṭâhir ; tout au moins dans leur forme la plus ancienne, celle qui a le plus échappé à l'influence du persan, contre laquelle ils n'ont pas toujours su se défendre, témoin ceux qui sont cités à divers endroits de son *Ferhèng-i Nâcirî* par Rizâ-qouly-Khân. C'est très probablement le dialecte natal du derviche, celui de Hamadân. Il faut dont admettre un dialecte de Hamadân, ou hamadânî, qui n'est pas du Kurde, et se rapproche des dialectes du centre, notamment de ceux de Kâchân.

Il se rapproche de ceux-ci par l'emploi du cas oblique en *a*, *e*, et celui du préfixe *a*, *e* dans *a-karî* "il fait," par certaines formes verbales telles que l'impératif de *âmadan* : *boûr* "viens" (comme dans le dialecte de Zefrè, tandis que le Kurde *vèrè* et *boûrîn* signifient "passer"), et de *choudan* : *chè* "va-t'en" (comparez le dialecte de Kèchè ; le Kurde a *tch* au lieu de *ch*) ; la 1ère personne singulier de l'aoriste en *an*, *ân* : *gorîdjan* "je fuis," *karan* "je fais," *tersân* "je crains" (Kâchân *oûn*, *ôn*, baloutchî *ân*).

Il s'en éloigne par la 3e pers. sing. de l'aoriste *karoû* (à côté de *karî*), par des formes telles que *tchô*, *tchoû*, "bâton, morceau de bois," et *tahl* "amer," qui sont Kurdes (les dialectes du centre ont *tal* ou *tâl*).

Sur l'époque où vécut Bâbâ Ṭâhir, on consultera avec fruit la *Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'di*, de M. Edw. G. Browne, pp. 259-261. En présence

du document formel qui y est cité, les calculs de Mirza Mehdy Khan, *op. laud.*, p. 2 et 11, sont de peu de valeur.

I.

ار از آشوده کاران کاره ترسان ∴ کارم آشوده بي زان کاره ترسان
ازان ترسان کر گیتی را سریشي ∴ شرمساران ازان آزاره ترسان

Si je suis celui dont les affaires sont troublées, je crains la [grande] affaire (le jugement dernier); [or] mes affaires sont embrouillées, [donc] je crains cette affaire. J'ai peur que tu ne troubles le monde ; j'en suis honteux, et voilà pourquoi je crains les vexations.

Az, pronom sujet de la 1ère personne. Nous avons indubitablement affaire à une 1ère p. s. de l'aoriste en *ân* ; cela est clair pour le 3e hémistiche, et non moins évident pour le verbe substantif au quatrième. Les dialectes de Kâchân ont cette forme en *oûn*, un seul l'a en *ôn* (Geiger, dans le *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.* I, 2, 395); il faut aller jusqu'au baloutchî pour en trouver des exemples : *man-ân*, je suis ; *bân*, *bayân*, même signification (Geiger, *ibid.* p. 395).— آشوده *âchoudè*, p. آشفتن. سریشي est l'aor. de سرشتن proprement "pétrir."—Dans کار nous avons un exemple du cas oblique en *è* des dialectes de Kâchân (Geiger, *ibid.* p. 390).— بي *bî* est du dialecte de Keché, dans la région de Kâchân (Joukovski, *Materialy*, ap. Geiger, *ibid.* p. 398) et aussi du Kurde de Bohtân (Socin, dans le *Grundriss*, I, 2, 267).—Variante dans la source No. 3 :—

جهان آلوده ام آلوده ترسم ∴ کارم آشفته بی زان کار ترسم
ازان ترسم گر وایی روز بازار ∴ شرمسارم ازان بازار ترسم

II

دلم بلبل صفت حیران ول بي ∴ درونم چون درخت پا بگل بي
خون دل بار دارد ارغوان دار ∴ درخت تهمه بارش خون دل بي

Mon cœur est comme un rossignol épris de la rose; mon âme est un arbre dont la racine est plongée dans l'argile. L'arbre de Judée a pour fruit les peines du cœur ; l'arbre est amer; voilà pourquoi il ne produit que tristesses et chagrins.

Vil est une forme parallèle de *goul* " fleur." *Vil*, dit le *Ferhèng-i-Nâcirî*, fleur en général, et fleur de la vigne en particulier. Sèrvéri, dans le *Medjma'oul-Fours*, dit

que ce mot signifie fleur en dialecte de Rèï ; ce qui est exact, car Bâbâ Ṭahîr de Hamaḏân a dit :

مسلسل زلف بر رو ریتر دیرې ∴ ول و سنبل بهم آمیتر دیرې

پریشان چون کرې آن تار زلفان ∴ بهر تارې دلې آویتر دیرې

" Tes boucles de cheveux, tu les laisses pendre en chaînes sur les joues ; tu as les roses et les jacinthes mêlées ensemble. Quand tu sépares ces tresses qui semblent les cordes d'un luth, tu trouves un cœur suspendu à chaque cheveu." (No. XLIV de ma publication dans le *Journal Asiatique* de 1886). Le *Ferhèng-i Cho'oûrî* a également *vîl* ; le Borhân-i Qâti' est seul à donner la vocalisation *val*, adoptée d'après lui par Vullers ; Horn, dans le *Grundriss* I, 2, 31, dérive ce mot de l'avestique *varəda* " plante " et compare le Semnâni *vâle* (forme moderne *velé*) ; cf. Houtum-Schindler, ZDMG. 1878, p. 535. Le Kurde Zaza a ولر *vil'e*.— Dans تهلر, le ر final est la 3e pers. sing. du verbe substantif ; il reste تهل=تلخ. La métathèse que le persan a fait subir au pehlevi *taḫr* (Salemann, dans le Grundriss I, 1, 262) ne s'est pas communiquée aux dialectes ; le Kurde nous offre les formes *takhl*, *taḫl*, *tahl*, *tāl*, *tāhl* (Socin, *ibid.* 2, 270) ; la gutturale disparaît dans les dialectes de Kâchân, de Sô, du Mazandéran, qui ont la voyelle brève *tal* ; d'autres ont la voyelle longue *tāl*. — Au 3e hémistiche, la voyelle de *khoûn* doit être brève.

III

ار از سوتر دلانم چون ننالم ∴ ار از بیحاصلانم چون ننالم

بلبل و انگل نشیني زار نالي ∴ موکر دور از ولانم چون ننالم

Si je suis du nombre de ces amoureux épris de l'idéal, comment ne gémirais-je pas ? Et comment ne pas pousser de plaintes, si je suis un de ces pauvres infortunés ? Le rossignol est en compagnie de la rose et n'en sanglotte pas moins amèrement ; et moi, comment ne pleurerais-je pas, moi qui suis éloigné des fleurs ?

La 3e pers. sing. de l'aor. en *î* se trouve dans les dialectes de Kohroûd et de Zèfrè, dans la région de Kâchân (Geiger, *ibid.* p. 395).—Variante dans l'appendice de Maghrébî, No. 5 :

موکر سوتر دلم از چر ننالم ∴ موکر بي حاصلانم چون ننالم

گل و بلبل نشستند زار ونالند ∴ موکر دور ازگلانم چون ننالم

IV

دیم ورزیگري نالان درین دشت ∴ بخون دیدگان الاله مي کشت

همي کشت و همي واتش دریغا ∴ بمکوي آخر بمکوي هشت

Je vis un laboureur gémissant dans cette plaine, qui plantait des tulipes arrosées de larmes amères. Il les plantait et disait: "Hélas! me faut-il donc semer et finalement abandonner [le champ]!"

دیم *diyom*, 1ère pers. sing. du prétérit de *dîán*. — *Varzîgarî*, pers. *barzîgarî* de l'avestique *varz* qui a donné *barzīdan* et *varzīdan* (Darmesteter, *Ét. iran.* I, 97-Salemann, dans le Grundriss I, 1, p. 267). —*Alâlè*, forme ancienne de *lâlè*; le *Fèrhèng i-Nâcirî* donne les deux formes *alâlè* et *âlâlè*, sans appuyer la seconde sur une autorité car dans les deux exemples qu'il cite, et qui sont tous deux de Bâbâ Ṭahîr (le premier est le présent quatrain, auquel on a donné une forme persane, reproduite par Mirz-Mehdy Khan, p. 21, et le second est le No. XL de ma précédente publication, Heroes Allen, 50), la forme est *alâlé*, comme l'indique le mètre; toutefois le Ferhèng-i Cho'oûrî (*apud* Meninski) la donne. Jaba-Justi a *alāl*, "marguerite"; Chodzko Indique لالر "coquelicot" en Kurde de Suléïmâniyyé. — *Vât-èch* pour *èch-vât*, "de lui a été dit, il a dit," 3e p. sing. du parfait-participe à construction passive. — *Bama-kôï* est intéressant en ce qu'on y retrouve le verbe *kô* "falloir" déjà signalé par moi (*Notice d'un manuscrit pehlevi-musulman*, dans le *Journal Asiatique* de 1889, VIIIe sér. t. XIV, p. 264). Ici il est au parfait-participe, précédé du pronom personnel *ma* et du préfixe verbal *bă*. L'hémistiche doit être scandé ainsi: *bă-mă-kōi-kicht ŏ ā khīr bă mă-kōi hīcht*.

V

بودم پیر و بشد کارم از دست ∴ بچشم نازنینان بودم کست

به پیشم دول دامان دول واجي ∴ زپس دروازه وآن دردر برم بست

Je suis vieux et ne peux plus rien faire; je suis méprisable aux yeux des belles; Devant moi le . . . . du temps parla . . . .; ensuite le portier me ferma la porte au nez.

Au premier hémistiche, il faut lire *bŏdom* pour le mètre, au lieu de *boûdèm*. دامان est peut-être pour ذامان; je ne sais comment lire le mot qui précède et qui suit.

VI

اگر ميلي كرې ناگر برۀ بستان ∴ مباد اكجي بكجي دست دستان
هرچر پشينيان دار اسمان داو ∴ سلام آوسيان نر بدستان

Si l'envie te prend soudain de descendre au jardin, que les mains dans les mains ne soient point entrelacées. Tout ce que les anciens . . . l'arbre du ciel . . . je salue . . . .

Ce quatrain est à peu près inintelligible, tel qu' il est donné. Je lis بكيجى au 2e hémistiche et j'en rapproche les expressions كيژ وويژ de mon précédent No. XXIX, گيج و ويج du No. XXV plus loin.

VII

آذرم سركې عالم بسوجى ∴ ز آذر عشق آذر هم بسوجى
ادم آن رشر خارې در بيابان ∴ كر آذر ننگش آير كم بسوجي

Mon feu commence à prendre, il brûlera le monde ; le feu lui-même brûle de l'ardeur de l'amour. Moi, je ne suis que l'humble épine noire du désert que le feu a honte de consumer [tellement elle est misérable].

ادم (probablmt اذم) "moi je suis," cf. Kurde *ezim*, talyche *azem*, ossèthe *äz*, afghan *za*, avestique *azəm*, vieux perse *adam*. — *Rèchè* est le Kurde *rech*, *rach* ; cf. *reche-giïâ*, herbe noire, espèce de pavot sauvage (Jaba-Justi).

VIII

وايير آن رو كر در گورم نهن تنگ ∴ ببالينم نهن خشت و گِل و سنگ
نر پاې آن كر از ماران گريجن ∴ نر دستِ آن كر با موران كرن جنگ

Il viendra, ce jour où l'on me déposera dans l'étroit tombeau, où j'aurai pour oreiller une brique, de l'argile et des pierres. C'est là que les pieds sont sans force pour que je fuie les serpents, et les mains sans pouvoir pour que je combatte les fourmis !

وايير est l'aoriste آيير précédé du *v* préfixe. — *Rū* existe en mazandérani et en semnâni, et coexiste avec *rō* en Kurde (Lerch, dans Jaba-Justi). — La 3e pers. pluriel de l'aor. est *in* en guèbrî et dans le dialecte de Nâyîn ; nous devons donc avoir ici *nihin*. — *Gorîdjan*, *karan*, 1ère pers. sing. de l'aor.

IX

دراري حو پريشانم شب و روز ∴ زديده اشك ريزانم شب و روز
نه ويمارن نه جانم اكري درد ∴ همين دانم كه نالانم شب و روز

. . . . Je suis troublé nuit et jour ; nuit et jour, les larmes coulent de mes yeux. Je ne suis point malade, et mon âme ne me fait point mal ; tout ce que je sais, c'est que je me plains nuit et jour.

Remarquez la 1ère pers. sing. du verbe substantif en *an* bref dans *vîmâr-an*, pers. *bîmâr-èm*. — *A-karî*, 3e p. aor. avec le préfixe *a*, *e*, sur lequel on peut consulter Geiger, *ibid.* p. 396.

X

لاله كارين همي لاله بكاريد ∴ باغبانان دو دست از دل برآريد
كه دناي ولين اين بي كه آردي ∴ بيخ دل بر كني آذر بكاريد

Semeurs de tulipes, continuez à cultiver vos plates-bandes ; jardiniers, retirez vos deux mains de mon cœur. Sont-ce des graines de fleurs, ce que tu as apporté ? Tu m'arraches la racine de mon cœur, c'est donc du feu que vous avez semé.

Dènâ-i-vilân, "graines de fleurs" : cf. Kurde دنه grain, p. دانه.

XI

بوقت مردنم اي غيرت حور ∴ زبالينم ميشه يكپارگي دور
گرت كي بمرن ور ژنده واين ∴ بشه بور و بشه بور و بشه بور

Au moment où je mourrai, ô toi dont les houris sont jalouses ! Va-t'en un peu loin de mon chevet. Si tu as fait que je meure ou que je reste vivant, va-t'en [mais] viens [ensuite], va-t'en, mais viens.

Sur *chè* (impér. de *chô'imoûn*) dans le dialecte de Kèchè, et *boûr* (impér. de *bômaâ*) dans celui de Zefrè, voir Geiger, *ibid.* p. 401.

Dans *gèr-èt kî*, le premier mot est la conjonction "si," le second le pronom affixe de la 2e pers. ; nous avons affaire ici à un parfait-participe de *kîn* "faire." *Bamirèn* = Pers. بميرم — *Vâyèn* est la 1ère pers. de l'aor., comme وايد en est la 3e (No. VII, ci-dessus).

XII

شبا چه شب دلم در بر برينست ∴ بدين موتر دلم كافر ترينست
دلم مانند چو بي كش دو سربي ∴ بيك سر موتر و يك سر ترينست

O nuit (et quelle nuit) ! mon cœur, dans ma poitrine, remonte en haut ; mon cœur brûlé est tout ce qu'il y a de plus mécréant. Mon cœur est semblable à un morceau de bois qui a deux bouts, dont l'un brûle et dont l'autre serait humide.

Le Ms. porte حر et برست sans points. Pour la rime, il faut lire *kâfèr* ; de même dans une ode de Djélâl-od-dîn Roûmî, *apud* Browne, *Liter. Histor.* II, p. 493, où ce mot rime avec *sâghar* et *lâghar*, et dans Blochmann, *Prosody*, p. iii ; comparez le turc *gâvèr* "giaour." — L'image du 4e hémistiche se retrouve dans le No. XXIX de ma précédente publication. — *Tchô*, *tchou*, bâton, en Kurde (Jaba-Justi).

XIII

غم عشقِ تو كي بر هر سر آيد ∴ همايد كه بسر بوم و هر آيد

ز عشقت سر فرازان كام يابند ∴ كه خوراول نگهباران بر آيد

Les soucis causés par ton amour, et dont on voit la trace sur bien des fronts, sont le phénix qui plane sur le territoire de l'Iran. Les orgueilleux obtiennent par son amour l'objet de leur désir, car la fleur du soleil (?) se montre leur protecteur.

خوراول *khôrâ-vil*, fleur du soleil, *helianthus annuus ?*

XIV

بصحرا بنگرم صحرا تو وينم ∴ بدره بنگرم دريا تو وينم

بهرجا بنگرم در كوه و در دشت ∴ نشان از قدِ رعنای تو وينم

Je regarde la campagne, je vois que tu es la plaine ; je regarde la vallée, je vois que tu es la mer. Je regarde partout, dans la montagne et dans la plaine, je ne vois en tout que des marques de ta taille gracieuse.

XV

دلی دیرم دمی خرّم نمیبو ∴ نمی دیرم که هرگز غم نمیبو

حظي دیرم من از خوبان عالم ∴ كه يار بیوفا همدم نمیبو

J'ai un cœur qui n'est jamais joyeux un seul instant, et des soucis qui ne diminuent jamais. La part que j'ai en ce qui concerne les belles de ce monde, c'est qu'une amie infidèle ne sera jamais ma compagne.

XVI

زدست چرخ گردون داد دیرم ∴ هزاران نالهٔ فریاد دیرم
نشیند دلستانم باخس و خار ∴ چگونه خاطر خود شاد دیرم

Je me plains de la main cruelle du ciel tournoyant ; j'ai à proférer des milliers de plaintes et de réclamations ! Ma bien-aimée se tient au milieu des broussailles et des épines ; comment mon esprit pourrait-il être gai ?

XVII

بود درد من و درمانم از دوست ∴ بود وصل من و درمانم از دوست
اگر قصابم از تن وا کرو پوست ∴ نکیرم داد ودست از دامن دوست

Mon mal provient de mon amie, ainsi que le remède ; mon amour va être satisfait, et je ne puis atteindre mon bonheur. Si même le boucher m'arrachait la peau du corps, je ne me plaindrais pas et ne lâcherais pas le pan de la robe de mon amie.

La rime du 4e hémistiche est mauvaise. — *Vâ-kèroû* ; le pl. *kèroûn* est attesté au No. XXXVII, *mî-kèroû* au No. VII de ma précédente publication.

XVIII

غم و دردٔ مو از عطّار وا پُرس ∴ درازی شب از بیمار وا پُرس
خلایق جملگی احوال پُرسند ∴ توکر جان ودلی یکبار وا پُرس

Demande au droguiste quelle est ma peine et quel est mon tourment ; consulte le malade sur la longeur des nuits ! Les hommes ont tous l'habitude de demander des nouvelles de la santé ; toi qui es mon âme et mon cœur, demandes-en au moins une fois !

XIX

فلک در قصد آزارم چرائی ∴ گلم چون نیستی خارم چرائی
توکر بارٔی زدوشم برنداری ∴ میان بار سربارم چرائی

Pourquoi le ciel a-t-il l'intention de me tourmenter ? Pourquoi ressentir les épines quand je n'ai pas la rose ? Toi qui n'enlèves pas un seul fardeau de dessus mon épaule, [dis-moi,] pourquoi ai-je le mal de tête en plus de ce fardeau ?

XX

دلا از دستِ عشقت سوتر جانم ∴ زآه و نالهٔ خود در فغانم

شوان تا روز از دستِ جدائی ∴ کری فریاد مغز استخوانم

Ô mon amie, j'ai l'âme dévorée par les flammes de ton amour ! Je suis tout agité de mes plaintes et de mes gémissements. Les nuits, juqu'au jour, la moëlle de mes os se plaint de cette odieuse séparation !

XXI

بودی عهدو وفا کر ای دل ایدل ∴ هستی ازخود جدا کر ای دل ایدل

گرکس آسا بهر مردارہ منشین ∴ قناعت چون هما کر ایدل ایدل

Sois fidèle et tiens ton engagement, ô mon cœur ! Sépare-toi de l'existence, ô mon cœur ! Ne t'installe pas auprès de toute charogne à la façon d'un vautour ; pratique le contentement de peu comme le phénix, ô mon cœur !

Le phénix (*houmâi*) se nourrit d'os et, comme l'a dit Sădî, *Gulistân*, I, hist. 15, pour ce motif et parce qu' il ne moleste aucun être vivant, il a la prééminence sur les autres animaux.— کر est la 2e pers. de l' impératif de کردن ; cf. le négatif مکر au No. XXXI de ma précédente publication.

XXII

از آن اسیلر بازم از دمِ پیر ∴ بسی گور و گوزنم کرده نخجیر

گوره غافل مکچر الونده دامان ∴ هرکر غافل چرخ غافل خورخ تیر

Je suis de cette troupe de faucons, grâce à mon directeur spirituel ; j'ai chassé bien des onagres et des gazelles. Insouciant, ne va pas poursuivre les onagres sur les pentes du mont Elvènd, car celui qui chasse insouciant reçoit une flèche sans s'en douter.

Le dernier hémistiche est presque textuel dans le No. V de ma précédente publication. اسیلر = سیلر. —Dans م کرده ـ, il est bien clair que le second terme est le participe passé.—Dans *elvènd-è dâmân* "sur les pentes de l'Elvènd," il y a une construction syntaxique où le premier terme est au cas oblique (sur ce dernier dans les dialectes de Kâchân, voir Geiger, *ibid.* p. 390) et le second est virtuellement au locatif.

XXIII

ازآن اسپلر بازم کنده شهپار ∴ نخجیر از دوره وینم ببرمم زار
ببرمم زار و بالم نی بفرمان ∴ کر بازان سر بشو بر زانکر شهپار

J'ai arraché la penne rectrice à cette troupe de faucons ; je vois le gibier de loin, et je l'emporte au milieu des plaintes. Je l'emporte dans les plaintes, et mon aile n'est pas selon l'ordre, car les faucons s'en vont ; sache que c'est la penne rectrice.

XXIV

ایرجمدی بکوهان مورجش خست ∴ مورج از دست ایرج زار برمست
جوره بازی زسر کوهان بر آمی ∴ ایرجش خورد و مورج ایرجش خست

J'ai vu le petit *îr* dans les montagnes, il a blessé la petite fourmi. La fourmi a été emportée gémissante par la main du *îr*. Un faucon mâle est descendu du haut des montagnes, il a dévoré le *îr*, que la fourmi avait blessé.

Peut-être y a-t-il, dans le mot ایرج, une allusion au nom de Mélik Iridj, auteur de quatrains qui ont été publiés, avec ceux d' 'Omar Khayyâm et d' 'Attâr, dans une édition de Téhéran 1274 citée par Heron-Allen sous le No. 4 de ses sources.

XXV

دردمندم بکردی وسکر ای دل ∴ گونر زردم بکردی وسکر ای دل
گیچ و ویچی بشهران زیشتر هستم ∴ نام و ننگم ببردی وسکر ای دل

Tu m'as rendu bien soucieux, ô mon cœur ! tu m'as pâli la face ; arrête-toi ! J'ai vécu tout troublé dans les villes ; tu m'as enlevé ma renommée et mon honneur, arrête-toi, ô mon cœur !

XXVI

بروی لالر سنبل ریتر دیرم ∴ چو مصحف لام الف آمیتر دیرم
دل طاهر بدان محراب ابرو ∴ چو قندیلی نگون آویتر دیرم

Tu as des jacinthes épandues sur ta face de tulipe, tu as le *lâm* et l'*élif* mêlés ensemble comme dans le texte du Qorân ; le cœur de Ṭâhir est comme une lampe devant ce *mihrâb*, qui est ton sourcil, mais tu le tiens suspendu la tête en bas !

Sur les équivalences : *sombol*, *lâm* = cheveux, voir l'*Anîs el-'ochchâq* de Chéref-eddîn Râmî, dans ma traduction, pages 15, 16 et 47 ; *lâlè*, *moçhaf* = visage, *ibid.* p. 40 ; *élif* = taille, *ibid.* p. 83 ; *mihrâb* = sourcils, *ibid.* pp. 21 et 25.

XXVII

نالهٔ ما فقیران کس نجوي ∴ ولي ما تیرهٔ بختان کس نبوي
زمینِ طالعِ ما شورهٔ کاتی ∴ بدشتستانِ ما سنبل نروي

Personne ne rechérche les plaintes de nous autres pauvres, personne ne vient respirer le parfum de notre fleur, à nous infortunés. Le sol de notre destinée est saumâtre; les jacinthes ne croissent pas sur notre plaine.

XXVIII

ترا لب شکّرین و سیمین بر ∴ مرا دل آذرین و دیدهٔ تر
ازان ترسي در آغوشم نیاي ∴ کہ سیم اُذر گدازي آب شکّر

Tu as une lèvre de sucre, une gorge d'argent; j'ai un cœur de feu et des yeux humides. Tu ne te jettes pas dans mes bras parce que tu crains que le feu ne fonde l'argent, et l'eau [des larmes] le sucre.

XXIX

Ghazel.

موتا در بزم وصلِ دلبرستم ∴ ز دل عود و ز سینہ مجمرستم
ز مہر موي او زنّار بندم ∴ ز عشق روي او آذر پرستم
بشیرازم نمیمي آبردنی ∴ ازان کز خاک و آبِ دیگرستم
بسانِ مؤمنم در کافرستان ∴ و یا در مؤمنستان کافرستم
جگر خون لالهٔ این کوهِ دوستم ∴ خرابہ جاي این بوم و برستم
اگر عشقم جان دل بنگري ∴ بملک بي نیازي سرورستم
ز دارالمرز تا دور اوفتادم ∴ ز بند محنت و غم باز رستم
نہ کار آخرت کردم نہ دنیا ∴ یکي بي سایہ نخلِ بي برستم
غلامِ کمترینِ شاهٔ دینم ∴ محمد را کمینہ چاکرستم

Depuis que je suis en fête, ayant obtenu les faveurs de ma belle, mon cœur est de l'aloès qui brûle et ma poitrine ardente semble un brûle-parfums. L'amour de ses cheveux m'a fait devenir chrétien, et son visage a fait de moi un adorateur du feu. Je n'ai point trouvé à Chirâz les présents sur lesquels je comptais, et cela parce que je suis d'un autre climat. Je suis comme un fidèle croyant dans le pays des

mécréants ou comme un infidèle dans une contrée musulmane. Le sang de mon cœur est la tulipe qui fleurit sur la montagne de mon amie ; je suis la ruine désolée de cette contrée. Si l'amour regardait la vie de mon cœur, je serais le prince du royaume du contentement. Depuis que je suis loin de la place frontière (Chirâz), je suis délivré des liens de la peine et du chagrin. Je n'ai gagné ni les biens de ce monde, ni ceux de l'autre ; je suis un palmier stérile qui n'offre même point d'ombre. Serviteur infime du roi de la religion, je suis l'humble esclave du prophète Moḥammed.

Sur l'équivalence *zonnâr* = cheveux, voir l'*Anîs el-'ochchâq*, de ma traduction, p. 17, et sur celle de *âdhar* = *âtech* = visage, *ibid.* p. 40.

Appendix.

English Translation of M. Rosenberg's Paper.

تیانور　　'توتیانوش'　　نیاطوس

In the cryptographic text of the Desâtîr,[1] the Greek sage, converted by Zoroaster, is called *Tiânûr*. The Persian translation of the 5th Sâssân calls him *Tûtiânûsh*. In the Dabistân, which borrows the account from the Desâtîr, he bears the name *Niâtûs*. *Troyer* says in the note referring to this: "We are at a loss even to guess at the Greek to whom these names may be applied".[2] On the ground of the statements of Clemens Alexandrinus and of Iamblichus, he, however, does not consider it inadmissible to think of Pythagoras. Prof. *A. V. Williams Jackson* lays down as a fact that the name is very obscure and that its reading is uncertain.[3]

Pythagoras enjoyed great respect, at all times, in the East. The works attributed to him and the writings of the Pythagoreans brought to a head an important literature of translations.[4] In the Fihrist, he, with Thales, is called the first who treated of philosophy.[5]

While in the modern West the authenticity of the biographies of Pythagoras was doubted, and gave occasion to bitter differences of opinion among the historians,[6] the reports of the Greeks passed as gospel in the East. *August Müller* says: "Pythogoras takes the same position in the Arabic tradition which the mystic charlatanism of the later Greeks has assigned to him."[7] The author of the Desâtîr, a work the origin of

* Kindly translated by a friend.

[1] The *Desâtîr*, or Sacred Writings of the ancient Persian prophets; in the original tongue; together with the ancient Persian version and commentary of the fifth Sasan; carefully published by *Mulla Firuz bin Kaus*, who has subjoined a copious glossary of the obsolete and technical Persian terms; to which is added an English translation of the Desâtîr and Commentary. In two volumes. (Bombay, 1818.)

[2] *The Dabistân*, or School of Manners, translated from the original Persian with notes and illustrations by *David Shea* and *Anthony Troyer*. (Paris, 1843. Vol. 1., p. 277.)

[3] Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by *A. V. Williams Jackson*, p. 90. (New York, 1899.)

[4] Cf. *Steinschneider*, Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen (Zwöltes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Leipzig, 1893), §2 (26) und §3 (27).

[5] Kitâb al-Fihrist mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Gustav *Flügel* (Leipzig, 1871-1872). Vol. I., p. 20.

[6] *Ritter*, Geschichte der Pythagorischen Philosophie (Hamburg, 1826), pp. 1 sqq.—*Röth*, Geschichte unsere abendländischen Philosophie, Vol. II (Mannheim, 1858), pp. 266 sqq., p. 285 (against Bentley) pp. 343, 449.—*Zeller* Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (4te Aufl. Leipzig, 1876), pp. 270 sqq.—*Windischmann* Zoroastrische Studien, ed. *Spiegel* (Berlin, 1863), p. 261.—*Cantor*, Mathematische Beitrage zum Culturleben der Völker Halle, 1863), pp. 70 sq., p. 357 (against Zeller).—*Chaignet*, Pythagore et la Philosophie Pythagoricienne (Paris 1873) I, p. 22.

[7] Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Ueberlieferung (Halle, 1873), p. 31.

which is hardly to be placed before the year 1600 A.D.,[1] naturally sided with the Arabic tradition.

The later Greek sources, such as Apollonius of Tyana, Clemens of Alexandria, Apulejus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and others report all sorts of marvels about the life of Pythagoras. Among others one marvel is that Cambyses had brought him to Babylon in captivity from Egypt. Here, it is said, the Magi had initiated him into their learning, and here he came in contact with Zoroaster and became his pupil.[2]

It cannot be ascertained whether the range of thought of Pythagoras himself was affected by the Persian dualism. It has been sought to attribute to this (dualism) a powerful influence on the Pythogorean doctrines. *Röth*[3] even finds that the Persian teaching preponderated among the later Pythagoreans. The teaching of the "Original Opposites" bears a Zoroastrian-dualistic physiognomy. In the Pythagorean table of the "Ten Opposites" handed down to us by Aristotle, the eighth is called Light and Darkness, the ninth Good and Evil.

According to *West*, Zoroaster died in the year 583 B.C.[4] His calculations, however, carried out in accordance with the meaning of the Parsi tradition will hardly set up any claim to infallibility. Prof. *Jackson* has collected in his monograph all the available material which could be useful for the elucidation of the question. As a result he puts the age of Zoroaster in the second half of the seventh and the first half of the sixth century before our era.[5]

The statements about the birth-year of Pythagoras differ by several decades. The 50th or the 49th Olympiad (584-576 before Christ) has the greatest probability.[6] According to that, both these great sages can well be set chronologically one against the other. However, chronological agreement has little or no value for the legend, as the conversions of Biâs (Vyâsa) and of Changranghâca (Śankara Âcârya), mentioned in the same book of the Desâtîr convincingly show. Moreover, the state-

[1] Cf. *Erskine*, Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 372. (London, 1820.)—*Wilson*, The Parsi Religion, p. 411. (Bombay 1843.)—cf. also *Norris* (Asiatic Journal, Nov. 1820), who thinks it possible to place the origin of the book in the VII century of our Æra.

[2] On the other hand *Zeller*, op. cit. I, p. 447, also *Windischmann*, Zor. St. p. 265.

[3] Op. cit. II., p 349.

[4] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLVII., p. xxx.

[5] Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVII (1896). Reprinted in Zoroaster the Prophet, etc., pp. 150 sqq. See also *Röth*, op. cit. I., pp. 350 sqq. and 375 sqq.

[6] Cf. *Ritter*, op. cit. p. 3; *Röth*, op. cit. II., 284 sq.; *Zeller*, op. cit. I, 271, *n.* 2; *Chaignet*, op. cit. I, 29; *Windischmann*, op. cit. 260.

ment of the Desâtîr is so colourless, that, as Prof. *Jackson* remarks, Plato would as well pass in as Pythagoras.[1] Thus the name only remains. And at first sight, indeed, it seems obscure. As we saw, the تیانور of the cryptographic text becomes توتیانوش in Persian, out of which then the Dabistân makes نیاطوس? The readings are apparently false, and the impossibility of consulting the MSS. renders the interpretation more difficult. *A priori*, there is not much to be made out of the cryptographic text. It gives also the proper names in a travestied form. Thus, for example, Zoroaster is called هرتوشاد فرپود هرسختمان (xiii., 4). or, هرتوراش (xiii. 20), or هرتوش (xiii. 64). Isfandyâr is called سپهناد Jâmâsp جمیسات, etc. Thus, it may be taken for granted, that تیانور also does not represent the real form of the name. On the other hand, the Persian form gives, as it seems to me, important proofs. Naturally, one must not look at the diacritic points and other inaccuracies which creep in in fast writing. بوساتوس stands for بوناغورس — بوثاغورس. Also نیاطوس for نیاتوس — ساغورس would not seem dissimilar to فیثاغورس — پیثاغورس Finally, also a form پیثاغور from تیانور would not be impossible, according to the analogy of other abbreviations and mutilations of Greek names used in Arabic and Persian. I mention only ارسطالیس (Fihr. I., 246) سقراط (Fihr. I. 10, 260, 272, 357 سقراط بن سقراطیس 245) ذسقراط (H. Khalfa III, 374, No. 6019) بوقراط (Fihr. 217) فلوطیس Plotin سملیس Simplikios (ap. *Müller*, Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Ueberlieferung, p. 59). *Ibn* Daklis-Empedokles (*Steinschneider*, Die arab. Uebers. aus den griech. § 4, 28).[3] The usual orthography for Pythagoras is فیثاغورس (thus Fihr. I. 252, 314, 352; H. Khalfa I. 72, IV. 461, V. 104, 169, 280, VI. 13, 257 Shahrastânî [ed. Cureton] 265, 267) فوثاغورس (Fihr. I. 237 357) بوثاغورس (Fihr. I. 245) فوتاغورس (H. Kh. II. 96).[4]

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[1] Zoroaster, etc., p. 90.

[2] For the Dabistân I had at my disposal the printed edition, Calcutta, [illegible], and the lithographed one, Tehran, A. H. 1267. Both agree as to the orthography of the name.

[3] Also *Steinschneider's* work "Zur Pseudepigraphischen Literatur [illegible]" (Berlin, 1862) is full of examples.

[4] This last perhaps a misprint (?)

By the same Author.

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The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.

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Charms or Amulets and a few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their Comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, va Afdya va Sahigiya-i-Seistân, *i. e.* The Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Irân, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân (Pahlavi translations Part I. Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarati translations and notes.)

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